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The Shape of Things

THE TRUCE IN THE NEGEV BLEW UP, AS IT was bound to do, as soon as the Israel government tried to send a convoy through to its beleaguered settlements, under the agreement sponsored by the late Count Bernadotte. Egyptian troops fired on the convoy, and the Jews fought back. This would have happened long ago if the Jews, in order to avoid a conflict, had not supplied the Negev outposts by means of a risky, inadequate air lift operated at night with small planes landing on improvised strips in the desert. The approach of the rainy season made this method impossible, and the convoy was sent after due notification to the United Nations mission. That the mission tried to put through a cease-fire order based on the return of both Israeli and Egyptian forces to the positions they had previously occupied is evidence of the bias of the mediation officials. They must have known that the Israel government would not relinquish the land corridor won after three days of heavy fighting and leave the Egyptians free to cut off all future convoys. This maneuver having failed, Mr. Bunche proposed a three days' truce, with both sides holding their existing positions. Whether or not this is accepted remains uncertain as we go to press. But one thing is sure. In the light of Mr. Bunche's long-standing hostility to partition, and especially in view of his present role at Paris, described in Lillie Shultz's startling dispatch on page 453, the Israeli will do well to scrutinize the motives behind any proposal he may make. Their case is clear: they have the right, under the former mediator's own ruling, to send convoys to the Negev. They have now secured that right, not through the U. N., but by their own strength. It is to be hoped they will resist any demands that threaten not only their hard-won gains but ultimately their hold on the Negev itself.

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SOONER OR LATER, GOVERNOR DEWEY WAS bound to be smoked out on the Taft-Hartley act. He had to make at least one direct appeal for labor votes, and not even a Dewey can address himself to trade unionists without paying attention to the one issue that has them hot under the collar. Dewey is all for the Taft-Hartley act—he told his Pittsburgh audience how it had reduced strikes, encouraged collective bargaining, and

won the hearts of the people—but he is ready to concede that it is "not perfect." What is more, "wherever and whenever it needs change, it will be changed." But on this all-important aspect of his position, the Governor became again what Jack Kroll, director of the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee, calls "the champion of the unspoken word." To make the medicine palatable, Mr. Dewey offered his listeners a batch of shiny prizes, including an increased minimum wage, extension of the social-security system, "decent houses . . . at reasonable cost," and protection against "soaring prices." To carry out these promises, of course, he must be given the Representatives and Senators he wants, and these, it curiously turns out, are the same Wherrys, Tabers, Wolcotts, and the like who in the Eightieth Congress strongly rejected all such damnable violence to the spirit of Adam Smith. Dewey's Magna Charta for labor could hardly have come at a more inopportune moment for John L. Lewis, whose miners, in convention, had just heard their chief excoriate Harry Truman in terms usually reserved by union leaders for scabs, enjoining judges, and company police. Mr. Lewis was obliged to make an unkind reference to "some politician" who, he said, "hasn't even read the [Taft-Hartley] act." None of which, we cheerfully believe, can help the Republican nominee in the mining areas of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois. In most other labor centers, he is beyond help.

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THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, which opened in London on October 11, is grappling with some unusually knotty questions of both an internal and an external character. Since it last met in 1946, three nations—India, Pakistan, and Ceylon—have acquired membership as fully independent dominions. India, however, is committed to adopting a republican constitution at the end of this month and will thus sever the one formal tie that binds it to the Commonwealth. Prime Minister Nehru, who is attending the conference, has spoken warmly of his country's desire to continue cooperation with the British nations, and, given the goodwill, a way can probably be found that will allow a

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Republic of India to stay within the association. Formula-finding may prove more difficult in the case of South Africa, whose new ultra-nationalist government has placed the establishment of a republic high among its professed aims. In London, this government is represented by Eric Louw, Minister of Mines, whose statements so far have been of a soothing nature. But the news from South Africa, where the administration is consolidating its position by encouraging formerly banned fascist organizations and by repressive measures directed at the native majority and the Hindu minority, is highly disturbing. The ideological basis of the Commonwealth is democracy and racial equality, and a member which openly makes a principle of racial discrimination must prove a disruptive element. There is, in fact, still an unresolved quarrel between India and South Africa caused by the latter's discriminatory laws. The United Nations has proved unable to persuade South Africa to mend its ways, and it is unlikely that the Commonwealth Conference can hope for better success. But unless a firm stand is taken against South Africa's present policies, it will be hard to keep the new Asiatic dominions within the British family.

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THE CHIEF EXTERNAL QUESTION WHICH THE conference must attempt to answer is: How can Britain take an active part in a Western European Union and still maintain its position as head and center of the Commonwealth—a world-wide association of nations? Anthony Eden, in a discussion of this riddle, has urged that British policy be based on three unities which "are not antagonistic but complementary"—unity within the Commonwealth, unity with Western Europe, and unity across the Atlantic. It is doubtful if these metaphysical subtleties, reminiscent of those of the Athanasian creed, will greatly assist progress toward the desired end. At any rate, there seems to us more sense in the pragmatic approach of the present British government, though that also presents difficulties. Asked about this matter at his recent press conference in New York, Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, replied: "The Office for European Economic Cooperation, though it is called a European system, in fact brings in all the areas which are within the monetary system of any European power—the whole of the French franc area, the Belgian franc area, the Dutch guilder area, and the sterling area. These are all brought in . . . and it will of course help to provide them with markets which otherwise they wouldn't be able to get." This is true enough in so far as the sterling area and the Commonwealth coincide, but it does not provide any solution for the current economic problems of Canada, which is in the dollar group. Moreover, Sir Stafford failed to deal with the question of reconciling an imperial-preference system with Britain's obligation to integrate its economy with that of Europe. No

doubt this is a major reason why Britain is approaching the projected European customs union with extreme caution.

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EXCEPT FOR MR. CHURCHILL'S DANGEROUSLY provocative attack on Russia, the annual conference of the British Tories was a dull affair. Convinced, on somewhat dubious evidence, that the flowing tide is with them, they have ceased to worry about their lack of a program. So this time there were no enlivening controversies between the young Tories whose economic thinking has advanced beyond 1920 and the old gang who are still harking back nostalgically to the days of Joseph Chamberlain. That the latter were in the ascendancy is indicated by the unanimous passage of a resolution condemning the Havana Charter of the International Trade Organization in so far as it restricted preferential tariffs. The conference also agreed that economic solidarity of the empire must have priority over economic unity for Western Europe. Apparently, no one pointed out that this resolution was hardly consistent with Winston Churchill's vocal championship of British leadership for a united Europe. The ex-Prime Minister himself took no notice of the implied criticism: he was too busy breathing radio-activity. His speech, of course, attracted a lot of attention internationally; so that it is perhaps insufficiently realized that it was inspired in part by internal political considerations. The day before Churchill spoke, one of his chief lieutenants, Harold Macmillan, told the conference that the storm clouds were gathering and asked rhetorically: "Shall we turn this time before they break to the old and trusted pilot or shall we wait again until it is too late?" When Churchill talked of "remorselessly approaching" war he was undoubtedly suggesting to the British electorate that it was time to take the "old pilot" on board again. We doubt if his speech made quite the impression intended. The British people might want Churchill to lead them *in* war but that does not mean they now want him to lead them *into* war.

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THE APPEAL TO REASON AND CONSCIENCE signed by 107 prominent Americans which was sent to Dr. William Jansen, among others, on October 11 (and printed in last week's issue of *The Nation*) induced the Superintendent of Schools of New York City to budge not an inch from his intrenched position as censor. On the contrary, it inspired him to adopt a new set of defenses. "Probably many of the signers," he said, "have not read all of the articles [by Paul Blanshard]." He knew this to be a fact, he added, in the case of at least one of the signers—one out of 107. But to quibble over who signed what is to degrade the argument. What is involved here, rather, is a principle: shall the sensitivities of any special-interest group justify the censorship of

responsible journalism? Indeed, some of our warmest supporters in the current dispute have taken particular pains to let us know that they do not regularly read *The Nation*, or never read it, or read it but disagree with every word in it, or are lukewarm about it on the whole but violently in disagreement with Mr. Blanshard. The principle remains, and they, like us, are willing to fight for it. Another of Dr. Jansen's rationalizations was that since religious instruction in the public schools is forbidden by law in the state of New York, religion ought not be criticized in the classrooms. This is, in the first place, peculiar logic; in the second place, the series of articles by Mr. Blanshard which has been thrown into such prominence by Dr. Jansen and his colleagues was not written primarily as a religious critique but as a discussion of the effects of doctrine on governmental and social areas of conduct. Dr. Jansen also replied to the signers of the appeal by summoning respect for "long-established American tradition." True American tradition, Dr. Jansen, is to "support at all times the four fundamental freedoms of the American Republic"—as the Board of Education of Massachusetts said a fortnight ago in rescinding the ban on *The Nation* in that state.

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THE NEWS THAT THE SIDNEY HILLMAN Foundation, having raised more than the million-dollar fund which was its objective, has organized to carry out its work, is gratifying to those who admired that extraordinary leader and respect the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which he did so much to create. Any fitting memorial to Hillman would have to embody his unusual combination of common sense and idealism, his belief that faith must be justified by works, his habit of looking to the future rather than glorifying the past. His successors in the union and the board of the fund well understand this and have formulated their program accordingly. Principal and interest are to be spent within twenty-five years. Both the union and the employers have contributed to the fund, thus symbolizing Hillman's emphasis on their common interests. His belief that labor can gain its own proper goals only while serving the democratic society of which it is a part is implemented by the contemplated expenditures. Prizes may be offered to graduate students for dissertations in the field of social studies; lectures will be sponsored at various universities; trade unionists will receive scholarships; there will be exchange scholarships for foreign students; an annual award will be given for the greatest contribution to public service; prizes will be offered for the best books in the social sciences. Sidney Hillman would never have felt honored merely by memorials to himself; he would have wanted to stimulate others to carry on what he thought was worth while. If the fund succeeds in doing this, it will have perpetuated his spirit.

How Are You Going to Vote?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IN A straw ballot taken in the *Nation* office, one vote was cast for Harry Truman, ten for Norman Thomas, four for Henry Wallace, two for Thomas E. Dewey, and three were undecided. Some 1,274 members of the Nation Associates (of 1,957 polled) gave Dewey 121, Truman 431, Wallace 430, and Thomas 116. The rest, 176, voted for "nobody." If these figures prove anything, it is the political dispersion of the independent progressive vote as the campaign nears its end. This is further dramatized by the plight of the liberal press. *The Nation* has not come out for any Presidential candidate, and while the *New Republic* formally indorsed Truman in its issue of September 27, it has since attacked him sharply on many grounds. The *New York Star* is a reluctant Truman supporter, but among its columnists I. F. Stone is backing Wallace, and Max Lerner is for Thomas as a gesture of protest against both major candidates. The *New York Post* still remains on the fence editorially while its co-editors and publishers, Mr. and Mrs. Thackeray, engage each other in weekly debates pro and contra Wallace. One of its columnists, Harold L. Ickes, kicking and protesting, has forced himself to a grim, disapproving support of Truman.

As a letter writer in *The Nation* suggested some months ago, this is a year when independents would be happier if they could vote against rather than for the candidates. A good deal of liberal enthusiasm could be worked up for an all-out campaign against Dewey, with Truman running strong for the post of lesser evil, and Thomas and Wallace competing for last place.

The 121 ballots cast for Dewey in the Nation Associates poll puzzled me until I talked to several persons who voted that way. They were rather middle-to-right liberals, though all had consistently supported Roosevelt. They explained their support of Dewey as a protest against Truman: one because of the President's wobbly record on Palestine, the others for his general weakness, ineptitude, and inability to get on with Congress. Theirs, too, was a "no" vote in spirit, rather than a positive one. Dewey, they felt, would be "no worse" than Truman on foreign policy. In domestic affairs, they thought Truman's good intentions were canceled out by his poor performance. Obviously, they craved a period of consistency in policy and of efficiency in administration, both of which they count on Dewey to provide, even at the expense of some liberalism in domestic affairs.

But relatively few conscious liberals figure this way. They cling to what vestigial traces of the New Deal they can find in the Democratic organism and vote for Tru-

man, or they protest both Dewey and Truman and their reactionary machines and their right-wing advisers by throwing their vote to the Socialist or the Progressive candidate. Or else out of inertia or indecision they plan to stay home on Election Day. More members of the Nation Associates came out for "nobody" than for either Dewey or Thomas.

The behavior of the progressive-liberals will undoubtedly be affected by their growing certainty of the outcome. Most of these independents have mentally conceded Dewey's victory. Many who would have voted for Truman if they thought he had a chance now feel free to switch their vote to a candidate who represents a genuine opposition policy. Those who choose Wallace can do so without helping elect reactionary Republicans to Congress. With some exceptions, the Progressive Party has withdrawn its candidates in districts where liberal Democrats are running. Whether taken out of conscience or weakness, this action has altered the part the Wallace movement will play during the remainder of the campaign. Evidence multiplies that Communist interest in Wallace is moderating. So while Progressive strength declines, the party becomes paradoxically a more legitimate organization of liberal protest, and many voters who stood aside in the days of its prime, when Wallace, try as he might, could not detect a Communist in the party woodpile, will now feel free to drop their anti-Dewey, anti-Truman vote in the Progressive box.

More, I think, are making Norman Thomas the symbol of their revolt. Without forgetting his isolationist record, they prefer Thomas's consistent stand against war, monopoly, and old-party cant to the ambiguous alliances and pat formulas of the Wallaceites. They don't pretend that the Socialists can provide a real counterforce in the fight against reaction or that they offer the nucleus of a new independent left movement. But neither do the Progressives. In any case, these people are not voting for socialism or for Thomas or even, at this moment, for a permanent third party. They are voting their detestation of the status quo as represented both by Truman and his all but certain successor. And Thomas seems to them the best available expression of that point of view.

Liberals will choose their Presidential candidate for this year for empirical and practical reasons. They will go to the polls—if they go—without illusions. They will go divided. The most they can demonstrate in casting a vote for President is their repudiation of policies they cannot in sober fact hope to prevent.

Much more important, in a positive sense, is their opportunity to elect to Congress and to various local and state offices men and women who stand for progressive ideals and will fight even against their own party leaders to carry them into effect. This is the chief task of the independent voter now and on November 2.

Who Wrote the "Bernadotte Plan"?

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Paris, October 16 (by Cable)

BERNADOTTE is dead, but the real authors of "the Bernadotte plan" are very much alive and in action daily at the General Assembly. For the "Bernadotte plan" was written by representatives of the State Department and the British Foreign Office, in collaboration with the late United Nations mediator and the present acting mediator, Ralph Bunche. The story is ugly. Hints of it percolated through to Washington some weeks ago. While the facts I am about to give could be verified in the State Department, they are new to many members of the United States delegation and the department's Paris staff.

The medium for the betrayal of the original United Nations decision of November 29 is Ralph Bunche. That Britain has always coveted the Negev for strategic purposes has already been revealed in detail in *The Nation*. The newest chapter in the State Department-Foreign Office scheme to hand Britain this prize began in August of this year when Bunche returned to the United States. First, he sought an assignment of 5,000 American troops to protect Jerusalem. Secretary Marshall turned this request down unequivocally. Then Bunche tried to devise a settlement. He brought together Sir Alexander Cadogan, the British representative, and Dr. Philip Jessup, the American alternate, and told them that the Russians were making capital every day out of the disorders in Palestine. In the interest of Western security he urged an Anglo-American agreement on a compromise plan. Apparently Bunche was so impressive that Cadogan felt it necessary to make a special trip to London to discuss the proposal with the Foreign Office.

Bunche returned to the Middle East but remained in contact with the State Department. The results of his efforts became apparent when, around the middle of September, there arrived in Rhodes Colonel Robert McClintock of the Middle Eastern Division of the State Department and Sir John Troutbeck of Britain's Middle Eastern Office in Cairo. McClintock and Troutbeck went into immediate conference with Bernadotte and Bunche. Bernadotte's tentative idea to leave to the Jewish state the part of the Negev in which Jewish settlements already existed was dropped. Britain insisted on the whole of the Negev, and McClintock and Troutbeck wrote into the mediator's report the conclusions now before the United Nations. His work done, McClintock departed for Paris. There he wrote Secretary Marshall's statement fully indorsing the "Bernadotte plan." Small wonder that Ernest Bevin followed suit, for the "Bernadotte plan" was hand-tailored by Bevin.

The Anglo-American alliance on Palestine is now in full swing. Ralph Bunche, one of the ablest men at the U. N., is principal spokesman. There is no reflection here of the known opposition of both Truman and Dewey to the "Bernadotte plan." Dulles has remained aloof. The strategic line is the following: An Anglo-American resolution, sponsored if possible by other states also, is to be presented. It will call for acceptance of the "Bernadotte plan," including all the provisions detrimental to Israel. Some minor changes have been incorporated to appease Arab pride—namely, the elision of the proposal that Arab Palestine should be united with Transjordan, this question being left to the decision of the Arab states in consultation with Arab Palestine.

A copy of this proposed draft has been submitted to the State Department for approval. There is no intention, however, of throwing the Palestine prize to anyone except Transjordan, for Britain can take strategic possession of Arab Palestine only through its military treaty with that state. For the first time in a year and a half of discussion Transjordan has a seat at the U. N. table. Transjordan asked to be present, and sponsored by Hector MacNeil of Britain, a Transjordan observer has been invited to attend the meetings of the Political Committee. It was only Manuilsky who wryly commented that he was "amazed at the proposal, since Transjordan was not invited by the Security Council and since the actions of Transjordan incited and kindled the war in Palestine, making more difficult the work of the Security Council."

A full-scale campaign to round up votes on the prospective resolution is now in progress. Representatives of Britain and the United States are trying to persuade the Arab states not to register their opposition through a formal negative vote but rather to abstain, for each negative vote means that two affirmative votes must be secured to make the necessary two-thirds' majority. Simultaneously an effort is being made to blackmail Israel into acquiescence by virtually placing the Israeli government on trial for the murder of Bernadotte.

Bunche began the campaign in the Security Council on Thursday, asserting that the assassination was carefully planned in the territory controlled by Israel and charging "negligence by the local Jewish authorities." He has asked that the Security Council demand an official report as to what Israel was doing to apprehend the assassins, ignoring completely the continuous progress reports of the Israeli government. Cadogan seconded Bunche and formalized the view in a resolution, sponsored jointly with the Chinese. Yesterday in the Political Com-

mittee Bunche reiterated his charges, and the Lebanese representative submitted a resolution asking for an investigation of Israel's responsibility before a decision was reached on the principal question.

Seemingly forgotten is the announced and consummated aggression of the Arab states against Palestine and the United Nations. Bunche is the author of a formula equating the creation of the Jewish state and Arab aggression. He told the Political Committee on Friday that the war in Palestine was "brought on by the fact that the Jews had taken a political offensive and proclaimed the state, while the Arab states, in retaliation, took the military offensive." He hurdled the fact that the Jewish state was authorized by the resolution of November 29 by saying that it did not come about "in accordance with the processes and procedures foreseen by the . . . resolution."

The need to blackmail Israel into acceptance stems from an inescapable reality: the "Bernadotte plan" cannot be implemented without Jewish agreement. Bunche told the Political Committee yesterday that the state of Israel could be destroyed only by "force of sufficient strength to completely crush the Jewish community." The United States has already privately served notice that it will not supply troops. Assuming the United Nations wanted to implement the plan, it too would need troops. It does not possess them.

The Anglo-American combination has made not the slightest dent on Israel. With courage, dignity, and inflexible determination, the Israeli representatives refuse to allow their state to be truncated. Thus far they have succeeded in preventing the crystallization of opinion and action against them. But the fight to defeat the "Bernadotte plan" has by no means been won. What could assure this is a repudiation of the plan by Truman or Dewey or both. Justice demands it, and so does the rapidly dwindling prestige of the United States.

Russia Will Stay

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, October 15 (by Radio)

WHILE the Security Council of the United Nations fumbles about for a way out of the imbroglio into which it rushed in so headlong a fashion, the prevailing attitude in the Assembly is that a compromise must be reached between East and West. Most people, however, are discouraged by the reactions of both the Russians and the Western powers to the mediation proposed by the six neutrals. A week ago the advocates of compromise were still pinning their hopes on the slight difference of opinion among the three Western powers. The Americans at that time were holding out against any concessions to the Russians; the British seemed somewhat more conciliatory; the French were stubbornly cautioning against

any move that might cause a final break. Now the British, especially Foreign Minister Bevin, have swung over to the American view that it is too late for a compromise settlement. And France sees itself being pushed toward the edge of the precipice, incapable of mustering the strength to resist.

The tension in the United Nations has heightened noticeably since the return of Secretary Marshall from Washington. The United States delegation now seems determined to convince those of other countries that President Truman's well-meaning plan to send a special emissary to Moscow has been repudiated by everybody with a voice in framing American policy. Thus the effect of the President's abortive move has been exactly the opposite of what he presumably hoped to achieve. Far from repairing relations, Truman seems to have torn up another section of the road between East and West.

The Americans have stated unequivocally to newspapermen and to delegates that they intend to maintain their stand of no compromise on Berlin and reject any new attempt at mediation by the neutral powers and any intervention by Assembly President Evatt or Secretary General Lie. With the rumor factory turning out hundreds of stories, it is hard to determine how much of Washington's decision is based on the belief that war is now inevitable and how much on the notion that the Soviet Union can finally be forced to yield. The tone of the American delegation can be gathered from the final question put by Frederick H. Osborne when he was discussing Vishinsky's disarmament proposal before Subcommittee 12 today: "Don't you think there is a certain effrontery in presenting such a proposal to the General Assembly in the name of a dictatorship? Everybody knows that Russia is the most reactionary government in the world today."

In the corridors of the Palais de Chaillot certain people are openly predicting that the Russians will finally lose patience and go home. But I still maintain what I said in my first cable on the Berlin impasse—that no matter how uncomfortable their position becomes, the Russians simply will not quit. My feeling on this was confirmed when the Soviet delegation, contrary to general expectations, failed to walk out of the Security Council, and I am confident that my opinion will remain valid if the question is brought before the Assembly.

The Russians have every reason to stay in the U. N., no matter how uncomfortably, and no matter how many speeches like Osborne's are delivered: they have there an opportunity to mend some evident mistakes they have themselves committed in handling the problem of Germany. The first mistake, shared by the other three occupying powers, has been of course to permit Germany to recover more quickly than its victims. In my next article I will give details of Germany's astonishing comeback in every field; the Russians, the Americans, and the

English are disputing for its favors—the French are doing so much less—to the joy of Nazis and pan-Germans. Stories about poor Germans who lack even a spoon to eat with have no longer any foundation; in western Germany today the people are much better off than in France. For every other mistake the Russians have committed, the Western powers have committed three. The one with the most immediate consequences is the raising of the Berlin affair in the U. N. I doubt that even well-informed Americans realize to what an extent the deep mistrust of the United States felt by the two other Western powers dominates the present session.

I have it from the best source that leading figures in British politics have been discussing the situation in which Great Britain would find itself if one day Soviet Russia and the United States should make a deal. In high diplomatic circles the final abandonment of Truman's plan to send Vinson to see Stalin is attributed to the last-minute energetic intervention of the British. Frenchmen feel a similar concern. In consequence, the American delegation is fighting the Berlin battle under the worst possible conditions. There may be a better chance of obtaining some kind of action in the Assembly than in the Security Council, but the difficulties remain substantially the same.

THE Spanish issue probably will not come up for discussion until sometime in mid-November, but the battle lines are now being formed. The pro-Franco press recently announced that fourteen Latin American nations would follow the Argentine lead in an attempt to smuggle Franco into the United Nations by first gaining his admission to the specialized agencies. Since that story was first published, the number has somehow shrunk to five; the rest of the Latin American delegates show no eagerness to roll out the red carpet for Europe's last remaining fascist state.

Meanwhile the British, who were named as the godfathers of the reported pact between the Prietists and the monarchists, also seem to be in a back-tracking mood. Successive press releases from the Foreign Office have assured Madrid that London had no hand in the agreement. Indeed, the sensation created by the announcement of the new Spanish bloc has rapidly evaporated as one monarchist after another has declined to participate. By all present indications the issue has shaped up as a fight between the countries which believe that the prestige of the United Nations depends on respect for the resolutions it passes and those which accept Franco in his self-assumed role of "leader of the West's Christian crusade against Communist reaction."

Sidling Up to Franco

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, October 15

THE possibility that an outright military alliance might be concluded between the United States and the Franco dictatorship in Spain was clearly foreshadowed by developments this week in Washington. The strategic importance of Spain has been a military axiom from the days of the Roman Empire, and American military planners have apparently decided to conduct a classic "Peninsula campaign" in the event of war with Russia. From a map-room point of view the logistics of such a campaign could be handled, and the proposal has won out against the opposition of General de Gaulle and certain American analysts who argue that a defense strategy should be based upon holding the Rhine frontier. Within the past two or three weeks the Spanish plan has evidently gained the active support of Secretary Marshall and the State Department, despite the inevitable grave diplomatic repercussions.

The State Department's Spanish specialists now seem to regard an eventual Spanish alliance as a certainty. In their view the tempo at which such a policy can be developed depends entirely upon public reaction in the United States and Western Europe. Until recently depart-

ment spokesmen, when asked about rumored changes in the Spanish situation, repeated an unvarying formula to the effect that United States policy toward Spain had not been altered in the slightest degree and was still based upon our worthy advice to the Spanish people to abolish their dictatorship as a condition for acceptance into the comity of nations. This week the department, in an announcement by its press officer, proclaimed the formula once again, but apparently it no longer hopes to convince anybody that the Spanish situation is *in statu quo*.

Secretary Marshall himself, in a statement to the press in Paris, acknowledged discussing with the French and British foreign offices a proposed policy of moderation toward the Franco government. On his return from the Mediterranean area Chairman Gurney of the Senate Armed Forces Committee revealed—very probably to the regret of the military planners—that the ultimate stage in the development of our relations with Spain would probably be outright military alliance, lend-lease, and financial credits. James A. Farley emerged from a long interview with Franco shortly after Gurney's visit to advocate a roughly similar proposal. In Washington the State Department's Spanish specialists were surprised

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and pleased by the unexpected mildness of the domestic reaction to these statements. The week's newspapers, they were relieved to see, contained only one really penetrating attack upon the proposed alliance—a cartoon by Herblock in the *Washington Post* which depicted Farley squirting perfume on Franco and advising him: "Now if anybody says anything, just say 'anti-Communist.'"

The strong resistance which such a policy faces in Western Europe, however, was shown by Bevin's and Schuman's advice to Marshall that public opinion in their respective countries would not countenance the return of ambassadors to Madrid and the nullification of the 1946 U. N. resolution which called for their withdrawal as an act of censure of the Franco government. The State Department, "clarifying" Marshall's Paris interview, said that the Secretary had merely "raised the issue" concerning the ambassadors in response to notification received from several Latin American countries that they wished to return their ambassadors to Madrid. But reports from London and Paris insisted that Secretary Marshall had not only raised the issue but urged a modification of the U. N. ruling.

Representatives of the Spanish Republican government in exile have expressed strong resentment at the apparent drift toward an alliance with Franco and have advised the State Department that in their opinion the policy is based on a grave miscalculation of political and psychological realities among the masses of the Spanish people. Millions of Spaniards, according to the Spanish Republicans, would obstruct to a serious and perhaps decisive degree any military alliance against Russia in which Franco played a leading role.

Franco must still maintain a military administration rather than a bona fide civilian government in Asturias, where many former rebels are still holding out—to save their lives—in the mountains. There is not the slightest doubt, exiled Spaniards say, that Russia could organize such elements throughout Spain into a formidable resistance and keep it adequately supplied for guerrilla warfare by means of an air lift. What the State Department and the military planners do not realize, these Republicans assert, is that for millions of Spaniards such fighting would not be primarily against the West or in behalf of Russia but rather a resumption of their own bitter struggle against Franco and Spanish fascism.

The exiled Spaniards feel especially bitter that the proposed alliance comes as a boon to Franco at a time when his financial and political resources are at a low ebb. Franco, they say, has strangled the national economy with huge government expenditures for the army and other parasitical trappings of his regime; production is down; and many former supporters are deserting him. Only American dollars in the form of lend-lease and credits can rescue him from the economic and political crisis that impends in Spain.

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

Tour of the Border States

BY ROBERT BENDINER

III. Tennessee

IF IT were any other year—or if the Democrats had any Presidential nominee but Harry S. Truman—there would be only a loud horse-laugh in Tennessee at Speaker Joe Martin's vision of that state going Republican. Actually I encountered no wide belief there that anything of the sort will happen, and the vote in the primaries would hardly encourage the notion. The two candidates for the Democratic nomination for governor polled 400,000 votes between them, while the Republicans were giving Roy Acuff, their synthetic hill-billy candidate, a total of 90,000. Yet enough has happened since the primary, and there is enough uneasiness in the state's Democratic circles, to take Mr. Martin's prediction out of the realm of fantasy.

Aside from the national drift away from the Democrats, three factors are at work in Tennessee that can only add to their troubles. To take these in rising order of importance, the first is the exhaustion of the Democratic campaign treasury. This is particularly true in the case of Estes Kefauver, whose race for the Senate against B. Carroll Reece is easily the most significant contest in the state. After his sensational and hard-fought victory over the Crump machine Kefauver has found himself strapped for funds to carry him through a second campaign, a procedure not often required in states this far south.

The second hurdle for the Democrats to overcome is the increasing aggressiveness of the States' Rights Party. The Dixiecrats would have amounted to little in Tennessee if the movement had not been seized upon by Crump as the ideal vehicle for avenging himself on those who had trounced him in the primary. When I was in Memphis a few weeks ago, it was assumed that the deflated statesman, unaware that he was through, would play the strong, silent man; that he would quietly release his operators to work for the Dixiecrats but say nothing himself, lest another defeat in his own county put a final period to his political career. Now that he has come out openly for the Thurmond-Wright ticket, it is apparent that he does realize his plight and feels he has nothing to lose by making the ultimate gamble. He is taking a chance that his present move will throw Tennessee to the Republicans, after which the Dixiecrats will either hold the balance of power in their own name or compel the Democrats to accept their leadership in the party, with Crump again in the driver's seat.

From my own observations I would not say that Crump's personal restoration was at all probable, and

on all sides there is an undeniable pride in having overthrown a boss who could be unbelievably petty as well as paternalistic. Outside of the city Crump has always been extremely unpopular, and some of Kefauver's appeal rested on the fact that Crump had singled him out for special enmity.

The strength of the Dixiecrats in this campaign is greatly enhanced by their strategy of working closely, if unofficially, with the Republicans all along the line. They are offering no senatorial candidate of their own, but one has only to listen to the speeches of B. Carroll Reece to know what is going on. Mr. Reece offers something new, and particularly gross, in the way of political hypocrisy. Bigots who pose as civil libertarians are a dime a dozen, but here is a Taft Republican who has consistently voted for federal civil-rights legislation, as a matter of party policy, now offering himself as a champion of states' rights in order to pick up the vote of the Dixiecrats. Here is the former chairman of the Republican National Committee, a man who in Congress advocated a Fair Employment Practices Act, stumping the state as a defender "of the Southland" against "alien-minded forces . . . mixed tongues chanting many themes that are utterly offensive to our American instincts and none more offensive than their chant that 'states' rights must give way to human rights.' "

NO DEMOCRAT in Tennessee would give Mr. Reece a second thought if this were a normal election. Outside his own traditionally Republican district in the eastern part of the state, he has no following to speak of, and this year he carries an additional burden in the thinly veiled hostility of the head of the ticket, whose candidacy he fought hard in favor of Senator Taft's. Nevertheless, Reece is given a chance of winning on the basis of a possible Dewey sweep and as a result of the last of our three factors.

This consideration is the presence on the Republican ticket of Roy Acuff, a man trained for the governorship by years of scraping away at a fiddle while chanting such deathless compositions as "Shut the Doors, They're Coming Through the Windows." Mr. Acuff makes a handsome living at his trade by way of a Saturday night radio program entitled "Grand Ole Opry," and a sale of records that I am told exceeds Bing Crosby's. He also balances a bow on the end of his nose. Billed as "Roy Acuff and His Smoky Mountain Boys," with Carroll Reece thrown in as an added attraction, the twenty-one-car motorcade puts on a show that draws the biggest crowds in Tennessee's political history.

The contrast between the rallies of the respective parties is startling. At the Gibson County Fair in Trenton I heard Kefauver, Gordon Browning, who is Acuff's opponent, and several lesser Democratic candidates address a few hundred farmers in a small baseball park.

The speakers were all serious and for the most part intelligent. Browning told his audience that "the world is just eight inches from starvation," that they, the farmers, were the key to the world's future, and that conservation, proper land use, and cheap electric power were among the crucial issues of the day. In this state—and particularly in this county, which boasts an electric cooperative of 15,000 members, the largest REA project in the country—no speaker ever fails to pay tribute to TVA. And few Democrats fail to point out that it was Reece who in the House debate on Muscle Shoals damned the whole scheme of government power projects as having been "conceived by Communists in Moscow."

Kefauver, looking rather like a neat young college instructor with a frank, informal manner, concentrated on the present well-being of his audience in contrast to the wretched conditions of fifteen years ago—"unpainted houses, small interest in crops, run-down eroded farms." Statewide veneration for Cordell Hull was invoked to support the reciprocal-trade system and the Administration's foreign policy, with Russia coming in for some blistering criticism but American Communists entirely ignored. Incidentally, not one speaker at this Democratic rally so much as mentioned the name of Harry Truman. Even Kefauver, whose record in Congress has been liberal enough to win him the negligible support of the state's Wallaceites (which he vigorously repudiated), has spoken out against the President's civil-rights program. He supports Truman, he says, "as the lesser of two evils on this issue."

The Acuff-Reece meeting I attended at Memphis's Bellevue Park drew a throng estimated by the city press at 20,000. The Smoky Mountain boys were rigged out in hick costumes of the vaudeville stage of thirty years ago, down to cotton goatee, blue overalls, and faded pink shirt. Besides entertaining with low-grade but timeless slapstick, they accompanied Mr. Acuff with bull fiddle and accordion as that aspirant to the governor's chair chanted the joys of taking what sounded like "That Naht Trayun to Memphis." Acuff makes a brief and standard talk at these affairs, assuring his fellow-Tennesseans that while he is "not experienced in politics," he was "raised in a Christian home the same as you good people, and was brought up on the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule," which together constitute his sole platform. He also promises, in a loose and amiable way, not to fire Democrats now in office, because "they have to make a living just like the rest of us." Republican ward-healers are naturally shocked at this kind of talk, but as one of them told the press informally, "We can't do anything with him. He might get mad and quit."

That would be disastrous indeed for the Republicans, because it is certain that no crowd of 20,000, or even 1,000, would turn out to hear B. Carroll Reece, who hangs about in an embarrassed way while hill-billy music

fans rush the platform for Acuff autographs. It is true the crowds come for the show and pay almost no attention to the speeches, but if each gathering yields only a few hundred additional Republican votes, the Smoky Mountain Boys will weigh heavily in a close election.

They may even spell the difference between giving the Senate an unusually fine member in Estes Kefauver and afflicting it with one who combines the doctrines of Taft and Thurmond, retaining by far the worst features of each.

Liberal Hopes Under Dewey

BY WAYNE MORSE

Eugene, Oregon

IN CAMPAIGNING for the election of a Republican Administration in both the White House and the Congress, I have been asked by many people, including the editors of *The Nation*, "What are the hopes of liberal Republicans for achievements under Dewey?" My answer is that constitutional liberals within the Republican Party not only have hopes but are satisfied that the records of Dewey and Warren give ample cause for believing that their Administration will be one of sound progress. True, it will not be one which will satisfy those leftists who misuse the term "liberal" by characterizing their ultimate objective of a state-controlled economy as a liberal program. Such pseudo-liberals completely misunderstand the aims of constitutional liberalism and fail to recognize that we can have government by law in America only if we are willing to make progress through the checks-and-balance system of our Constitution.

The tendency of these pseudo-liberals to substitute the personal discretion of government officials for sound administrative regulations and policies, checked by appropriate review, marks one of the great differences between them and constitutional liberals. In fact, the leftist advocacy of government by men instead of by law is as dangerous to the personal rights and liberties of Americans as is the reactionary philosophy of those backward-looking few in American big business who think that our country can and should return to the *laissez faire* economic policies which wrecked the Republican Party in the 1920's.

It is because I believe that Dewey and Warren, on their records, have demonstrated that they are aware of the dangers to constitutional government inherent in the programs of both the leftists and the political and economic reactionaries that I am urging constitutional liberals to support them in this election. They are leaders who recognize that sound and lasting progress cannot be made through an attempt to start a social avalanche. In

the states of New York and California they have sincerely pressed for and secured the enactment of progressive legislation in the fields of social, economic, and human relationships.

Of course they have made their mistakes, but they have also learned by them. They have found it necessary to agree to compromises on some subjects in order to make that degree of progress which a majority vote of their legislatures at a given time would permit. However, their compromises have not gone beyond the conscionable compromises which every legislator and executive must make if he is to be of constructive help in hammering out on the anvil of democracy the best possible welding of variances in legislative points of view.

The problems of political ethics which confront the constitutional liberal when he is asked to make legislative compromises truly try the soul. The tests are and must be: Is a proposed compromise a conscionable one? Does it advance or retard any principles of constitutional liberalism which are within the realm of immediate accomplishment? Is it supportable on the basis of the facts and the legislative realities which confront the legislator or the political executive? Without claiming any infallibility for them, it seems very clear that Dewey and Warren, as governors over the years, have met those tests. Their record therefore gives confident hope to constitutional liberals that progress in behalf of human values will be made during their Administration, if liberal Republicans also will do their part.

In fairness to Dewey and Warren, it is not right or proper for constitutional liberals to give the impression that they expect the details of their program to be automatically adopted by the Dewey-Warren Administration. However, I am satisfied that the liberal program will be given an impartial hearing, with a good chance that the facts will prevail in the final legislative policy adopted. I do not mean to imply that every time the constitutional liberals put up a strong factual case in support of a given legislative reform it will necessarily have the support of the Dewey-Warren Administration. It would be more than naive to believe that now, any more than at other times in American history, under whatever party administration, the logic of facts and evidence on a given issue necessarily results in the en-

WAYNE MORSE, United States Senator from Oregon, has been an outstanding liberal among his Republican colleagues.

actment of constructive legislation. But I confidently assert that under Dewey and Warren the sum of legislative accomplishments will represent a sincere attempt to substitute legislation based upon facts for a program based upon political expediency or pressure politics.

LIBERALS should take hope from the remarkably progressive platform which the Republican Party passed in Philadelphia. While it contains many compromises as a result of the attempt to reconcile great differences in points of view, it is unquestionably the most forward-looking platform the Republican Party has adopted in more than a quarter of a century. The Republican liberal can work within the framework of that platform if he will reserve the right to exercise an honest independence of judgment and set forth any differences of opinion which he may have with any particular plank of the platform. Party regularity is no substitute for statesmanship. In many ways the greatest contribution that the Republican liberal can make to his party is constantly to challenge it to be more progressive. Wherever and whenever the Republican liberal can advance the cause of constitutional liberalism within his party he should do so, even though the degree of progress which his party is willing to make at a given time is not as great as he thinks it should be.

Viewed from that perspective, the Republican platform of 1948 is a wide-open invitation to constitutional liberals in the Republican Party to demonstrate the soundness of their legislative proposals. Unquestionably, if the objectives of the major provisions of the platform are carried out by appropriate legislation and administrative policies during the Dewey-Warren regime, no true liberal in America will be able to deny that great progress has been made. Dewey and Warren are men who have demonstrated that they believe political platforms bind them to exert their leadership to carry out the pledges of their party. However, we have no right to expect the impossible of them. Neither should we ignore the fact that they will inherit both assets and liabilities from sixteen years of Democratic government.

The cause of truth is not advanced by fostering the impression that one party and the men in it are the only sincere advocates of the country's real welfare and that the opposition party and its leaders would destroy our constitutional rights. Intellectual honesty should compel us all to admit that a considerable portion of the social legislation passed during the Democratic Administration in the 1930's is here to stay. Equally, it should be admitted that there is not one word in the Republican platform which indicates any intention of repealing it.

If it were left to my personal preference, I would modify some portions of the Republican platform and I would add other things to it, such as a guaranty of civilian control of atomic energy. However, in its en-

tirety the 1948 Republican platform is specific, progressive, and encouraging. It clearly tolls the death knell of the Old Guard Republican philosophy as the dominant point of view of the Republican Party. It is a platform offering constitutional liberals the opportunity of enacting sound, progressive social legislation.

One of the primary functions of representative government, in my view, is that it must at all times seek to protect those who are economically and politically weak from the exploitation of those who are economically and politically strong; but it must do so within the framework of a private-property economy and in keeping with the legal principles and guaranties of the Constitution, including its precious Bill of Rights. I submit that the Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia seeks, through its statement of policies and specific provisions, to attain that objective of constitutional liberalism. Surely no true liberal can take exception to the following language:

Our foreign policy is dedicated to preserving a free America in a free world of free men. This calls for strengthening the United Nations and primary recognition of America's self-interest in the liberty of other peoples. Prudently conserving our own resources, we shall cooperate on a self-help basis with other peace-loving nations.

Constant and effective insistence on the personal dignity of the individual and his right to complete justice without regard to race, creed, or color is a fundamental American principle.

The sections of the platform on civil and human rights, on conservation, power development, and reclamation, on federal aid to states, on slum clearance, housing, and social security, on education, scientific research, and health present a basis for real achievement in domestic affairs. The foreign-policy plank, clearly approving Senator Vandenberg's statesmanship and pledging support of the United Nations, goes far toward insuring the establishment of a system of international justice through law.

The Republican platform and Governor Dewey's speeches make it clear that fair consideration will be given to any needed revisions of the Taft-Hartley act. All that Republican liberals ask for in the field of labor legislation is action by a Republican Administration on the basis of the facts rather than in response to pressure politics. It is up to the liberal Republicans to prove their case for needed revisions, and I am satisfied the case for amendment is so strong that the Dewey Administration will be found sponsoring proposals to correct the unjust procedures of the Taft-Hartley act.

Unless the liberal is asking for the millennium, he can see not only hope in a Republican victory this November but a great opportunity to advance human rights through the new-found liberalism of the Republican Party.

A Californian Looks Ahead

BY ROBERT W. KENNY

Los Angeles

WHATEVER reasons Henry Wallace may have had for forming a third party, it is now painfully apparent that the move was ill advised in California. Given California's free-wheeling style of politics and its system of cross-filing in primaries, it has been a major accomplishment to create a *second* party in the state, not to mention the difficulties involved in creating a third. Except during the short lifetime of Hiram Johnson's Progressive Party, California was essentially a one-party state from the Civil War to the EPIC campaign of 1934. Today the Democratic Party is undeniably a *second* party, that is, a genuinely progressive party, in California. Though a few local satraps still cherish the illusion that they are "bosses," the California party is almost wholly free of bossism and machine control. The state chairman and national committeeman are progressive Democrats, the party's state platform is a progressive document, and the Los Angeles County Central Committee—the largest elected Democratic organization in the country—is headed by and largely made up of progressive Democrats. In fact, a sizable minority of this committee is supporting the candidacy of Mr. Wallace. Under these circumstances it is indeed difficult to understand the reasoning that led to the formation of the Independent Progressive Party.

While a bona fide second party was finally formed in California, the experience of the last fifteen years has demonstrated that it can win elections only when it succeeds in creating a broad coalition of interest groups based on common support of issues vital to one or more of these groups. In the past such issues have usually been embodied in initiative measures. Theoretically the 1948 election furnishes the ideal makings of a campaign of the type which brought victory to the Democrats in 1938. Several measures have been proposed—an anti-labor measure, a reapportionment of the state senate, a state housing program, and an old-age pension plan—which provide the basis for a winning coalition in California. Yet a coalition is precisely what California progressives do not have this year.

The chief reason why one has not been formed around these measures is that the various elements of previously successful coalitions are afraid nowadays to be seen to-

gether for any purpose. Fighting an attack on the "full-crew" statute, the Railroad Brotherhoods seek to cultivate small business and rural support by sedulously avoiding even the appearance of an alliance with left-wing labor and progressive groups. Largely financed by certain A. F. of L. unions, the campaign to reapportion the state senate is likewise being conducted on a "simon pure" plane, with the result that not a fraction of the potential support for this measure has yet been mobilized. The housing initiative proposal, which has an extremely broad appeal, has thus far failed to attract the support which could have been secured by a less "exclusive" campaign. Each of these measures is being pushed in splendid isolation, and no attempt has been made to pyramid progressive support. While it is possible that the anti-labor proposal will be defeated and that reapportionment and housing will carry, the opportunity to build a winning coalition behind progressive candidates by utilizing these issues has been wholly forfeited.

Whatever the intentions of the third-party leaders may have been, the party's emergence has been a factor in the failure to form a successful coalition. But responsibility for the failure does not rest entirely with the Progressive Party. In the past few weeks its leaders have been willing to be seen in public with their former colleagues, but not too many of these former colleagues are willing to be seen with them. Moreover, certain anti-third-party elements of former successful coalitions are in part to blame for the party's creation, for after the 1946 election they devoted no small part of their time and energies to "reading out" of the coalition the groups which today make up the new party.

Next year there will be an excellent chance to form a new coalition. A municipal election will be held in Los Angeles in the spring of 1949. Since this will be conducted on a non-partisan basis, it should be possible to submerge ideological differences and to form a winning bloc. A victory in the municipal election in Los Angeles might well lay the basis for a victory in the state-wide election in 1950. If Earl Warren becomes the next Vice-President, Republican solidarity in California is likely to be shattered, and for the first time in years one can reasonably anticipate hotly contested campaigns in the party's primaries. For example, several Republicans are already being touted as possible candidates for the Republican nomination for governor against Goodwin J. Knight, should he succeed Warren. Heated primary campaigns, as the Democrats have learned, have a tendency to leave scars which are not healed by the

ROBERT W. KENNY, former Attorney General of California, is a Wallace supporter but opposed the formation of the third party.

time of the elections. Thus in 1950 progressive Democrats will have a good opportunity to capture both the governorship and a seat in the United States Senate.

Success then will largely depend on how the former coalitionists behave after the first Tuesday in November. There is likely to be a short interval in which they will be sufficiently chastened to be amenable to reason. Facts, including election returns, have a way of ironing out ideological rigidities. If the time-tested leaders of California progressivism seize the moment and act swiftly, a winning state-wide coalition could be formed for 1950. If this opportunity is lost, the breach may become irreparable. If the insurrectionists are rebuffed, the Progressive Party will continue in existence, attempting to play a balance-of-power role in a state ill adapted to this brand of politics. On domestic issues, which should be uppermost in municipal and state elections, the present conflict is utterly nonsensical. A point-by-point comparison of the Progressive platform with the Democratic platform in California shows that agreements and similarities far outnumber points of difference.

In the absence of a coalition neither the Progressive nor the Democratic Party can hope to salvage much from the 1948 election. Had Henry Wallace remained in the Democratic Party, he might easily have captured the California delegation. By the time of the June primary

California Democrats of all shades of opinion were resorting to the most desperate and amusing stratagems to avoid having to support Truman. The situation which some of us had foreseen in the spring of 1947 had come to pass even more fully than we had anticipated; but by then the possibility of using this situation to advantage had been lost—through timidity, lethargy, and the lack of bold and far-sighted leadership.

As delighted with their new political apparatus as youngsters with a new toy, Progressive Party leaders remained indifferent to the necessity of forming a coalition until the last few weeks. Facing up to political realities, they finally realized the folly of entering candidates against Chet Holifield, Helen Gahagan Douglas, and Franck Havenner. But while Holifield, Mrs. Douglas, and Havenner now seem assured of reelection, the belated withdrawal of their Progressive Party opponents has not brought into being the coalition necessary to win a major victory in California. If one can say of the Progressive strategy of the last few weeks, "Too little and too late," one can also say that a slightly larger measure of forbearance on the part of the liberal Democrats might have prevented the present impasse. Unfortunately, the bridges are still down in California. If California liberals want to win in 1950, they had better start building new ones.

The Labor Vote in '48: An Analysis

BY MILTON EDELMAN

IN 1944, if Dewey had taken seven key industrial cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Jersey City—he would have won. Seven important states in which the Republicans rolled up a heavy rural vote were kept in the Democratic column by the industrial vote in these seven cities. Remembrance of this fact engenders in the leaders of the American labor movement a cautious hope that the G. O. P.'s march to power can be stemmed in November.

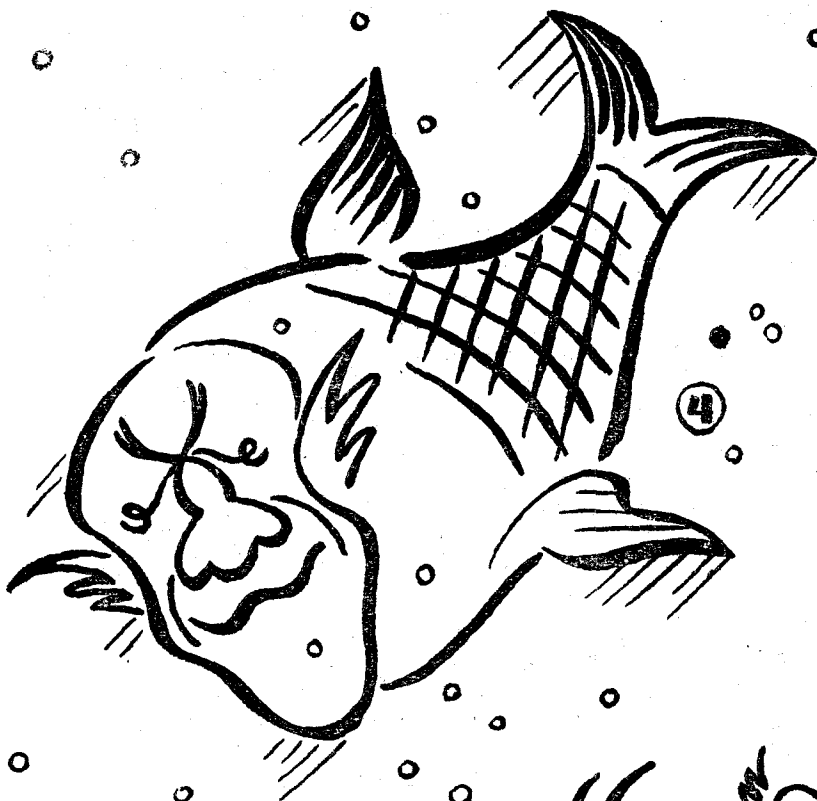
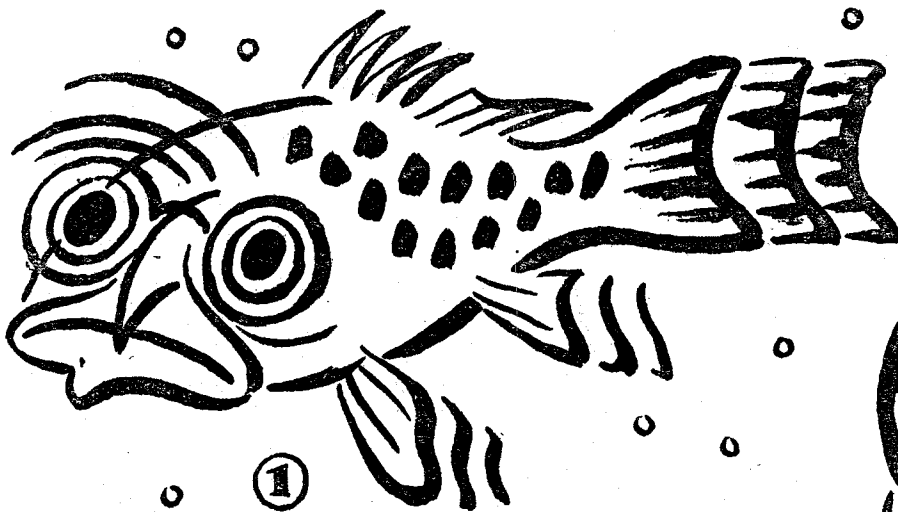
In spite of the inroads made by the Wallace Progressive Party, organized labor is still, as it has been for the past sixteen years, fairly solidly in the Democratic camp. A Gallup poll among union members published October 9 showed 55 per cent for the President, 38 per cent for Dewey, and 7 per cent for Wallace. Members of the C. I. O. were somewhat more strongly for Truman than those of the A. F. of L.—58 per cent as against 54. Last

month's poll of all groups of voters showed Dewey leading with 46½ per cent against 39 per cent for Truman and 3½ per cent for Wallace, with 9 per cent undecided. (The undecideds did not appear in the union poll.) Gallup has commented that "if everyone [eligible to vote] were required to vote . . . 1948 would be a horse race between Governor Dewey and Mr. Truman." This view is supported by the figures of the 1946 elections, in which only 34,000,000 persons voted—one out of every three eligible—thereby insuring a Republican victory.

Polls among union members tell only part of the story of Truman's strength in the labor movement. The A. F. of L. top command, in establishing its Labor League for Political Education and a special committee of union presidents to work for the Democratic ticket, has done all it could to express political support except board the President's campaign train. The C. I. O. executive board formally indorsed the President by a three-to-one vote and is using the machinery of C. I. O.-P. A. C. to insure his victory. From the powerful independent

[Continued on page 464]

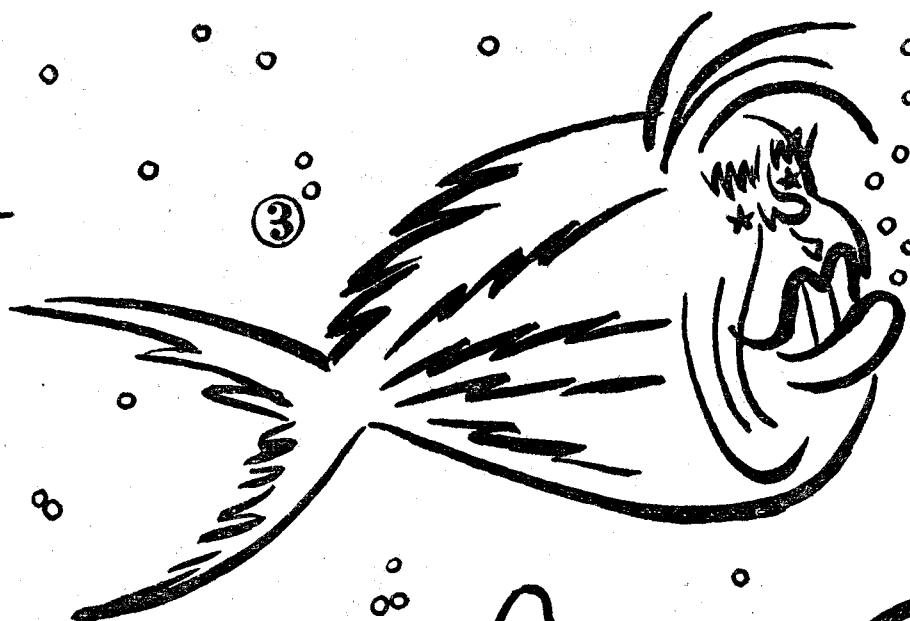
MILTON EDELMAN was formerly an editor of the *Watchman*, a Long Island weekly. He is now a freelance writer on labor and politics.



POLITICAL

Ichthyology by Robert Bendi

1. MISSOURI WEAKFISH: Propels itself in short, jerky movements—in any direction. Swallows twice its capacity to digest. Gregarious, but prefers society of other Missouri weakfish.
2. HUDSON RIVER EEL: This elusive creature is highly sensitive and gives off sparks when touched. Has powerful instinctive drive toward waters of the Potomac River. Travels alone, having had trouble with schools.
3. PROGRESSIVE BUTTERFISH: Member of the croaker family. Changes shape unpredictably. Feeds on Black Sea caviar, apparently without knowing what he is eating. Travels upstream to lay eggs on public platforms.
4. CONFEDERATE WHITEFISH: Almost an extinct species. Feeds, swims, and spawns only to the tune of "Dixie." Fights for whitefish supremacy.



L AQUARIUM

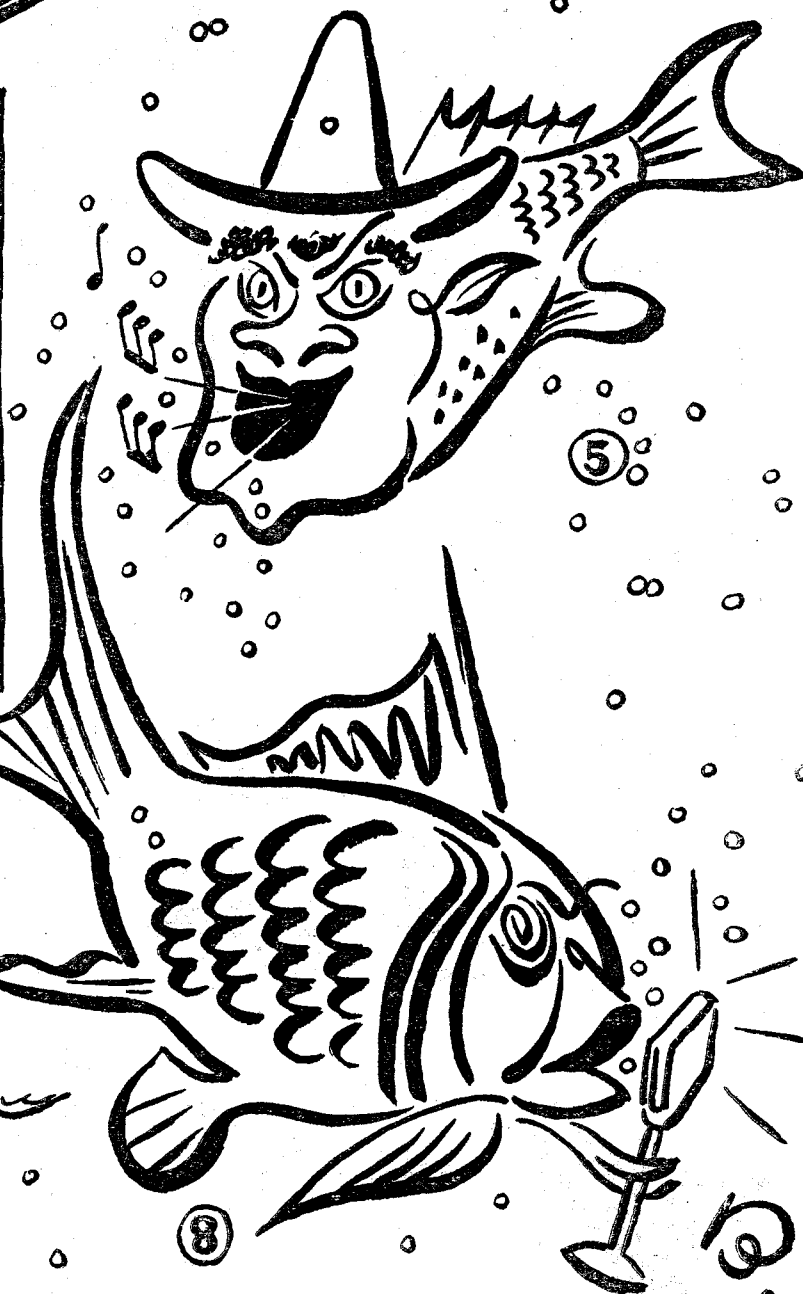
ner—Pictures by Oscar Berger

5. IDAHO RED SNAPPER: A performing fish, trained to give off crooning sounds. Loves an audience and feeds on newsprint.

6. KENTUCKY SUCKER: A genial and industrious species, noted for its tribal loyalties. Can be coaxed into swallowing hook even when it doesn't relish the bait.

7. CALIFORNIA PORPOISE: A family creature. Amiable, except to Japanese American goldfish, which it eats. Smooth lines permit easy flow and imperceptible changes in direction.

8. QUADRENNIAL CARP: Frequents deep ideological waters, but comes up every four years to survey surface impurities. Generally admired, but cultivated only by connoisseurs.



[Continued from page 461]

unions—Trainmen, Machinists, and Telephone Workers—have come either formal indorsements of the President or attacks on the G. O. P. and Wallace.

Of the 104 international unions in the A. F. of L., two—the Bakery Workers and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees—have expressed sympathy for Wallace. Some New York locals of the Meat Cutters, the Confectionery Workers, and other smaller A. F. of L. unions will go along with them. On the other side, the Building Service Employees' executive board has formally declared for Dewey. Bill Hutcheson of the Carpenters and Dave Beck of the West Coast Teamsters may also publicly back the New York Governor. All other A. F. of L. union heads have indorsed Truman, either specifically or by clear inference.

In the C. I. O., leaders of thirty-one of the forty-four international unions, with a total membership of about 5,000,000, have formally backed Truman. Officials of twelve other unions, totaling about 1,350,000 members, have come out for Wallace either boldly or cautiously. One union is so evenly split that it has indorsed no one.

WHAT is the explanation of this overwhelming sentiment among union leaders for a man whom they once denounced for his anti-strike injunctions and attempted to defeat in the Democratic convention only three months ago? The awakening of the President to his New Deal heritage supplies one reason. Another is found in the unhappy alternatives to Truman—an anti-labor G. O. P. Administration, as clearly foreshadowed by the Eightieth Congress, or the rise to power of the Communist-influenced Progressive Party. The importance to labor of the choice before it led William Green to say recently: "Labor people are in politics to stay. [Shades of Sam Gompers!] By bitter experience we have found that in self-defense we must keep active politically."

But the gap between the official stand of the union leaders and rank-and-file political sentiment worries the Truman organization. When only one union so far has indorsed Dewey, why does a poll show 38 per cent of union members for him? When union leaders representing over 80 per cent of the union membership have officially backed Truman, why is his indicated vote in the labor movement only 55 per cent? The veteran labor reporter, Victor Riesel of the New York *Post-Home News*, recently gave the answer: "I don't know a labor leader," he wrote, "who can deliver more than the votes of his loving family and a handful of loyal business agents."

Within the officially pro-Truman United Automobile Workers, for example, the presidents of four large locals—Ralph Urban of Packard 190, Dave Mellio of Cadillac 22, Carl Bland of Hudson 154, and Frank Danow-

ski of Plymouth 51—are active on the Labor for Wallace Committee. Members of this ruggedly individualistic union will vote Republican, Socialist, and even Dixiecrat. In the militantly anti-Wallace International Ladies' Garment Workers, which is raising \$500,000 to elect Truman and the Democratic ticket, Wallace supporters claim to have signed up over 6,000 members. An Amalgamated Clothing Workers' vice-president, Jack Kroll, directs C. I. O.-P. A. C., while a former vice-president, Leo Krzycki, is leading the Wallace drive. Even in Philip Murray's own United Steelworkers strong support for the Progressive Party is being organized by Harry Powell, head of the Inland Steel local.

Such left-wing unions as the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, Packinghouse Workers, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, Furniture Workers, and Office and Professional Workers also contain a proportion of dissidents. And strong objections to the indorsement of Dewey have been heard from the Building Service Employees. The head of a large New Jersey local bitterly condemned the action, and an informal newspaper poll of New York's large Local 32-B showed overwhelming sentiment for Truman.

But if union leaders cannot control the vote of their members, they can use the facilities of the union to accomplish two other things which will influence the result—get all eligible union voters to the polls, and conduct an educational campaign. Unfortunately, the A. F. of L. and independent unions, with few exceptions—the I. L. G. W. U. notable among them—have no history of organized political campaigning among the members. Attempts to influence votes have seldom gone farther than the publication of inspirational editorials in union journals. The C. I. O. unions, because their membership is often in large blocs in key industrial areas and because they have a tradition of aggressive political action, are better prepared to mobilize votes.

Already some unions have reported encouraging results. In Texas concerted action by the Oil Workers helped defeat the attempt of Dixiecrats to win the state delegation away from Truman. In Oklahoma, where a strong left-wing minority has denounced the union's support of P. A. C., the Oil Workers have united to defeat Representative Rizley, friend of the oil lobby, who is a candidate for Senator. The Textile Workers of America, 450,000 strong, is spearheading the P. A. C. drive for Truman and a Democratic Congress in New England and the South. Using all the most modern campaign devices—radio programs, billboard advertising, and baby-sitting for voters—as well as the ancient technique of button-holing, the T. W. U. A. went to town in the Maine elections last month. It mobilized the drive which killed two anti-labor propositions and elected four of its members to the state legislature.

President Walter Reuther of the United Automobile

Workers, over 900,000 strong, plans to make the union pull its political weight this year, especially in Michigan. In 1945 the U. A. W. could not even elect its own vice-president, Richard Frankenstein, to the office of mayor of Detroit, but it got its members out early enough this year to help defeat several Taft-Hartley Congressmen in the primaries. The union is mustering its political strength as it has never done before.

P. A. C. drives in Rochester, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia—"must" cities for a Democratic victory—are being promoted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, one of the most politically conscious unions in the entire labor movement. In Pennsylvania, the Steelworkers and the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers are joining the Amalgamated in P. A. C. work. In Ohio the United Rubber Workers, although badly rocked by its convention split last month, has provided excellent political education for its members. On the West Coast the Woodworkers and Oil Workers are prominent in P. A. C. units.

OF THE twelve avowedly Wallace unions only two—Ben Gold's Fur and Leather Workers, with 100,000 members, and Harry Bridges's West Coast Longshoremen, with 40,000—can be considered effective political fighting bodies. The bulk of labor's fund for Wallace in New York City is being raised by the Furriers, but the union, openly Communist-controlled, has rarely influenced the votes of other trade unionists. The West Coast Longshoremen, on the other hand, exerts great sway over other labor unions, particularly in the San Francisco area. Truman's recent tour through California raised his Gallup poll percentage in that state six points, but the Progressive Party is still strong enough to insure a Republican victory there. In the success of its drive Bridges and his union have been vital factors.

Of the other left-wing C. I. O. unions, the American Communications Association, the Furniture Workers, and the Shoe Workers are too weak and scattered to contribute much to the Wallace cause. The Farm Equipment Workers—whose president, Grant Oakes, tried to run on the Progressive ticket in Illinois—suffered heavy financial and other losses in the savage strikes at the J. I. Case and Allis-Chalmers plants. The Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, whose locals are active in the young labor movement of the Rocky Mountain states, has been split by warfare between the adherents of the incumbent left-wing president, John Clark, and those of its former head, Reid Robinson. Fortunately for the liberal cause, all factions are vigorously backing Montana's progressive Senator, James Murray.

In the South the young and radical Tobacco and Agricultural Workers' union, 125,000 strong, forms the core of the Wallace labor strength and will probably furnish a good part of the Progressive vote in those Southern states in which the party appears on the ballot. Jurisdic-

tional raids by sister C. I. O. unions, obvious Communist-inspired leadership, legal prohibitions against political activity, and the trade-union immaturity of its members hamper the left-wing United Public Workers and Office and Professional Workers in their drive to get a heavy Wallace vote from their members.

The largest and most strategically situated of the pro-Wallace unions is the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, with 575,000 members. In the industrial states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan the U. E. musters considerable strength. At its convention last month the union overwhelmingly reelected the left-wing leadership and condemned both Democrats and Republicans for claiming "exclusive jurisdiction over political expression in this country," but it declined to indorse any Presidential candidate. Strong anti-Wallace sentiment prevails among important U. E. locals in Schenectady, Philadelphia, and Bridgeport.

John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers, with a membership of 600,000, occupy, characteristically, a unique position. Loathing Truman for his injunctions, Communist union leaders for deserting him when the party line changed, and the G. O. P. Congress for passing the Taft-Hartley act, Lewis has used his choicest invective to blast away at all three parties. While they are devoted to Lewis on union matters, the coal miners have a strong habit of voting as they please, as their leader has had good cause to remember. Wallace spokesmen, rather optimistically, count on the miners to give them 150,000 votes in West Virginia. However, more realistic estimates indicate a maximum Wallace vote of 30,000. If the third-party guess is right, Truman would definitely lose the state. But such a vote would in turn insure the defeat of the reactionary Republican, Senator Revercomb, since both Progressives and Democrats are united behind former Governor Neely.

THREE cardinal points seem to emerge from this analysis of union political feeling:

1. Wallace has failed to capture the vote of a significant portion of organized labor, on which he has been counting heavily.
2. His candidacy, however, means that Truman may lose several key states in which the urban vote and the rural vote are about equally divided, notably New York and California.
3. The labor unions, heartened by the President's confident campaign swing through the West and his identification with New Deal concepts, are grimly carrying the ball for him and for a liberal Congress, with the odds against them. If they can get their members out to vote in record numbers and if these members are made sufficiently aware of the issues at stake, the 1948 elections will be no walkover for reaction.

Poland: Collectivization and Crisis

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Warsaw, September

I THINK one might call Poland the wonderland of Europe. I do not mean the "miracle of Warsaw"—two miles of shops along Marszałkowska Street, roast chicken and wienerschnitzels, boxes of candy, the two almost compulsory eggs for breakfast, white rolls, jam, butter at 60 cents a pound, and all that. Every visitor from the less fortunate parts of Europe writes about these things on his first contact with the Poland of 1948. Everybody knows about the remarkable working capacity and efficiency of the Poles and their high technical standards. (What German ass ever invented the contemptuous phrase *Polnische Wirtschaft*?) Everybody also knows about their eagerness to work for their country whether or not they like its government, and about the 30,000,000 tons of coal Poland can export this year—which makes it rather easier here than in Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia.

Poland is a wonderland in other respects, too. See how brilliantly and relatively painlessly the Gomulka case was settled. Only in a country where the people have a very high sense of the national interest could this have happened. The crisis in the Polish Communist Party was extremely serious. The secretary-general—Stalin's opposite number—was beginning to turn on Moscow. At the plenary meeting of the party in June he made a characteristically Polish speech in which, reviewing the history of the Polish working-class movement, he attached greater importance to the emancipation of the nation than to the class struggle. He was opposed to intensifying the class struggle in the countryside by putting the screws on the rich peasants. He also failed to demand a purge of the right-wingers of the Socialist Party as a preliminary step to the proposed fusion of parties. He was, in fact, willing to treat the Polish Communist Party as part of some sort of national front—the spearhead of that front, it is true—just as Tito was accused of drowning the Yugoslav party in the People's Front. It is small wonder that Gomulka not only refused to go to the Cominform meeting which was to launch the anathema against Tito and the Yugoslav leadership but later refused to indorse the Cominform resolution.

Only three men in the Polish Communist Party can be described as truly popular leaders—Gomulka, Bierut,

and Minc. Minc is a great business executive; Bierut and Gomulka are men of the working class. As President of the republic, Bierut realized that the Gomulka crisis was not merely a party matter but of immense national concern. What if there were a split in the party? For three months Bierut concentrated on "converting" Gomulka to a realization that a split in the party would threaten the national welfare.

Poland lies between Germany and Russia. If Gomulka should start a movement like Tito's, Moscow might get tough with Poland. It might even—and this is Poland's greatest fear—begin to favor the German Communists, which can be done effectively only at Poland's expense. The Russians realize only too well that unless they give some encouragement to the German desire for a revision of the Oder-Neisse frontier, they have little chance of winning over more than a small and insincere handful of Germans. If Gomulka quit the party, there was no guaranty that some kind of German Communist snowball would not start rolling toward Poland.

A solution was finally found. Bierut, while remaining President, assumed leadership of the party, and Gomulka sacrificed himself to the national interest but remained Vice-Premier. Gomulka ate his words on the score of collectivization, but he may still hope to act as a restraining influence. He may also try to render the fusion between the Socialists and Communists less painful. In this he will probably fail, since the whole matter now rests between Cyrankiewicz and Bierut. But one cannot help suspecting from the mildness of Minc's collectivization proposals that Gomulka may well have made this the condition of his recantation.

Certainly Gomulka wished to do nothing to weaken the international position of Poland, and in that respect his recantation was 100 per cent sincere. The Poles are very Germany-conscious, and during the squabble over Berlin they do not want to do anything that would lead Russia to make concessions to the German Communists. As one Pole said to me, "We ought to put up a statue to Schumacher as Poland's best friend." If in 1945 Schumacher had decided to back Russia instead of the West, it would have been goodbye to the Oder-Neisse line.

Minc's agrarian proposals marked the beginning of the next stage of the socialization of Poland. The rumor that collectivization was coming caused an epidemic of food hoarding, shopkeepers foresaw doom, and real-estate prices slumped sharply. But Minc is a man with his ear well glued to the ground. As somebody remarked about him, "He always agrees with the left-wingers in the

ALEXANDER WERTH, long The Nation's Moscow correspondent and recently writing from Belgrade, visited Poland last month.

party. He doesn't say, 'Yes, but—'; he says, 'Yes, and—.' " The "and" means he will produce a plan showing the practical and psychological possibilities of their proposals. That is precisely what he did with the collectivization proposals.

He had a good basis to go to work on. A large part of the nation does not like the government. (In Poland no government has ever been really popular, and the people have tended to go their way while the government pursues its ends.) But so many economic changes and developments have taken place that the people are no longer greatly scared of innovations. The Polish people have not only survived; they have fully adapted themselves to the new conditions. Why should they not now be able to adapt themselves to a gradual—very gradual—transition to certain collective methods of agricultural production. Plenty of sound reasons exist for doing something about agriculture, with nearly a million strip farms producing less than one ton of grain a year. A non-Communist expert like Sir John Boyd Orr, who visited Poland recently, thought that collective cultivation was an essential part of any plan for increasing the efficiency of Polish agriculture.

MINC presented his prospectus to the Polish people like a first-class salesman. First, he said, the change would be voluntary; secondly, "We are not in a hurry"; and finally, "What we are striving for is not quantity but quality." He outlined three different types of producer cooperatives: one a very loosely knit "farming association," with only plowing, tilling, and harvesting done in common; the other two much more like the Russian *kolkhoz*. The party, he said, would approve all three types. The rate of establishing these producers' cooperatives, or collectives, he added, would be determined by two factors—the number of tractors and other agricultural machines available, and the number of farmers willing to enter the plan.

An inventory of tractors shows that there are enough to collectivize only 1 per cent of the farms in 1949 and almost none in the next two years; but after 1951 more tractors will be available, and by that time the peasants should be convinced of the advantages of collective farming. Meanwhile measures will be taken against *kulaks*—farmers using hired labor. There will be higher taxes for them, and it will be difficult for them to get the use of state agricultural machinery and, most important, credit. There is a clear desire to reduce the importance of the rich peasants in the villages, where they not only wield great economic power but in alliance with the priests—Minc was careful not to mention the latter—set the political tone of the village councils.

The great question is whether the government is ready to intensify this program at the risk of having some heads broken—a few weeks ago three Communists were

murdered in the Plack area by peasants—or will proceed cautiously. A few heads may be broken anyway. Taking Minc's prospectus at its face value, it looks as if the Poles, thanks to their efficiency and well-thought-out plans, might make the *kolkhoz* something that would not only be profitable to the state but very attractive and beneficial to the farmers themselves. What if Poland developed collective farming without any of the unattractive features of the Russian system? It would be an achievement of the first magnitude and an extremely important political factor throughout Europe. For what else but the unattractiveness of life in the Russian *kolkhoz* has aroused so much opposition to collectivization throughout Europe? If the Poles showed the world a really "happy" *kolkhoz* system, the consequences might be far-reaching.

IT HAS been truly a momentous autumn—with not only collectivization but fusion. Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz were planning a fusion without tears, but there will be tears now. Cyrankiewicz is determined for various reasons—Poland's international position is one—to bring about the fusion of the Socialist and Communist parties, even on Minc's and Bierut's terms. The right-wing Socialists are in an unhappy position, for the Communists are demanding a thorough purge in the Socialist Party before they will join with it. Paradoxically, independent-minded and more or less anti-Communist Socialists do not oppose the fusion but protest violently against attempts to keep them from jumping on the band-wagon. The purge—now in the stage of violent attacks on right-wingers like Szwalbe, Hochfeld, Drobner, and Osibka—is being conducted by Cyrankiewicz himself, assisted and encouraged by pro-Communist left-wingers like Matuszewski. The pro-Communists, according to the right-wingers, were long ago planted in the Socialist Party by the Communists. The latter clearly do not want any unruly personalities at the head of the new party, certainly not a wily old politician like Szwalbe.

Why, one might ask, are the Socialists so eager to jump on the band-wagon? I am sorry to tell American liberals that the Communist Party is now so strong in Poland, with all the levers of power in its hands, that the Socialists have no political future; indeed, they are not even certain of their livelihood outside the new, Communist-dominated party.

But the question of fusion is not "settled" yet. In Czechoslovakia the rank and file of the Socialist Party was, in February, almost 100 per cent favorable to fusion, whereas the leaders, apart from Fierlinger, were not, but in Poland the situation is rather the reverse. Most of the leaders here are favorable to a fusion that they consider inevitable; the rank and file are less enthusiastic. The Communist Party, however, is confident that they can be brought around.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

JAMES AGEE, I am very sorry to say, has resigned as film critic of *The Nation*. I hope, however, that he will continue to be a contributor to these pages. Beginning next week, the film column will be conducted by Anthony Bower, who wrote about films for *The Nation* for a year or more preceding his tour of duty in the army and has been a frequent contributor of reviews and articles since his return. Meanwhile I have set down a few of my own impressions of Laurence Olivier's "Hamlet."

Watching this motion-picture version, one realizes first of all that Elsinore, both in sound and significance, has always been, for the reader or the spectator, no more—and no less—than a dark, rich, but unfigured setting which heightens the values of the play itself as the black rim of a volcano intensifies the brilliance and heat of the fires burning within. Mr. Olivier has made Elsinore a concrete castle in an actual landscape; and these tangible battlements and steps of stone, this actual wind and sea, dreamlike though they are, inevitably dissipate some of the intensity and continuity of the blaze of passions and of language that is "Hamlet." As a result the play becomes, if I may throw in more images, a sequence rather than a spiral, a stream rather than a maelstrom.

I am not at all sure that such plays as "Hamlet" or "Macbeth" or "Lear" can be translated into films of comparable power, but if it is possible then it could be done only by a director who was himself enough of a genius and enough of a revolutionary to disregard all the conventions either of filmmaking or of producing Shakespeare.

Mr. Olivier is not that director—as a matter of fact he falls, here, between the two sets of conventions—but I wish to add quickly that his "Hamlet" is nevertheless very much worth seeing and hearing. It is a serious and sincere and beautifully mounted production of a great play; and there are elements in

it which might well be incorporated in that perfect film I have posited.

I am thinking particularly of Ophelia as she is created by Jean Simmons, under the direction, of course, of Mr. Olivier. I say created advisedly, for both in the play as written and as I have seen it produced—though I have not seen all even of the more recent productions—Ophelia has always seemed to me a two-dimensional lay figure who might have been taken over from allegory. Neither she nor her young love, her madness, and her death seemed real, or central to the story of Prince Hamlet. In this production Ophelia becomes a person in her own right; her suffering is not merely represented by gestures and costume but directly communicated. The performance is in itself very moving. And this realization of Ophelia has effects on the play as a whole. For one thing, it points up the conflict of forces in the character of Hamlet by dramatizing the suffering it inflicts upon another and innocent human being. Again, since Ophelia is a character and not a lay figure, the role of Hamlet's mother is inevitably a little reduced. There are two women in the play, not one. And this effect is emphasized, whether by design or not, by the casting of Hamlet's mother not as the ripe matron of middle age, greedy for life and fearful of old age, but as a rather young woman whose relationship with her son is more than ever ambiguous.

Miss Simmons's and Mr. Olivier's interpretation of Ophelia may be "wrong," but it is an exciting and fresh interpretation and it does no violence to the text.

Olivier's Hamlet struck me as competent and faithful and a little shallow. He does not plumb the depths either of weakness or of strength in Hamlet's character. As the film opens we are told that "Hamlet" is "the story of a man who could not make up his mind," and at times this rather banal and quite inadequate description appears to have been Olivier's directive for his performance. I liked the device of presenting some of the soliloquies as thought—we hear the voice but the lips are still—

though at times one has the impression merely of a close-up too long drawn out.

Of the rest of the cast, Polonius and Osrice are very good; Horatio and Laertes are adequate; the King is inadequate but not disturbingly so. The gravedigger—there is only one—is funny, but his broad cockney sounds somewhat out of place in Elsinore. The cuts and telescoping, it seemed to me, have been done with care.

IT ISN'T OFTEN that one comes across a note of hope in the vast dissonance of international affairs. And I was positively cheered up when I read that after thirty years of discussion the United States and Great Britain are on the point of agreeing to the standardization of the screw threads of nuts and bolts. Presumably the agreement will be open to other nations—the French have taken part in some of the conferences—and though we may expect the Russians to denounce the proposal as an attempt to fasten capitalist screws on the machinery of the world, it sounds like one of those fundamental and irresistible reforms which must eventually triumph. Then all we'll need is an interchangeable standard of living and a bill of rights payable in any country.

New Lincoln Papers

THE LINCOLN PAPERS. The Story of the Collection with Selections to July, 1861. Edited by David C. Mearns. Introduction by Carl Sandburg. Doubleday and Company. \$10.

THE past dozen years or so have seen increasing mystery, not to say scandal, grow up about the papers of Abraham Lincoln which his son Robert Lincoln had deposited in the Library of Congress with the injunction that they were not to be made public till twenty-one years after the son's death. Rumors, uninformed and irresponsible, have hinted that all sorts of dark state secrets were hidden for the present and would sooner or later come to light: even evidence that at least one member of Lincoln's Cabinet had conspired against the President and may have had guilty

knowledge of the assassination. Then came, on July 26, 1947, the opening of the papers; and now comes this first volume of selections from them with a story of the collection itself.

It turns out that the mystery and the scandal have been fictions. The Lincoln Papers are those out of which Nicolay and Hay wrote "Abraham Lincoln: A History" (1890) and collected what they called the "Completed Works" (1905), though it is not complete. Nicolay and Hay had, it appears, somewhat old-fashioned ideas as to how dignified a history ought to be. They wrote and edited under the cautious supervision of Robert Lincoln, whose ideas were still more old-fashioned. As a supreme example, he would not permit them to publish the letter written by Queen Victoria to Mary Todd Lincoln after her husband's death. Robert Lincoln felt that this was a personal letter from one grieving widow to another—and therefore not to be made public. In fact the writing of it had been suggested to the Queen by the British Foreign Office, which thought that such a consoling message, if sent and given the wide publicity which the Foreign Office and the Queen expected and desired, might make friends for Great Britain among the American people.

Robert Lincoln, scrupulously if superfluously safeguarding the privacy of Queen Victoria, was acting in character. In the same way he set himself to safeguard the memory of his father. It would never have occurred to Robert Lincoln that a very great man, like his father, is after all like almost everybody in one respect or another: much too great and varied to be reduced to the formal dignity of such a figure as this son wished that father to seem to have been.

Of course the figure of Abraham Lincoln has long outgrown the limited version of his character that Robert Lincoln hoped to present to the world. The Lincoln the world has taken to its heart is everybody's Lincoln, not Robert Lincoln's. The son could not prevent the growth of the mighty legend, only delay it. And it does not appear that the delay has done much damage. The main outlines of the Lincoln story will not be notably changed by these fresh documents. The principal advantage to be drawn from them is that they confirm

in living detail, the conception of Lincoln that has already grown up; and that as time goes on and the papers are further studied, they will fill out rather than enlarge the human figure of the man.

As to the selections here offered, they begin with an exact copy, from the original manuscript, of the Autobiography which Lincoln wrote soon after his nomination in 1860. Then follow the notes furnished by various early friends of Lincoln to the campaign biography written by William Dean Howells in that year. Howells made good use of them, but the originals have a flavor that Howells was not frontiersman enough to catch and communicate. Then turning back to 1847, when Lincoln was in Congress, the selected papers are concerned mainly with the matter of keeping or getting offices for Lincoln or his friends. Here, as throughout the volume, there are many more letters to Lincoln than from him. The Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854 roused him to new political activities, which were thereafter unceasing till he died. Most of the selected papers are made up of his

mounting correspondence on national affairs. This became, naturally, enormous after he was nominated for the Presidency. Countless persons had advice to give, or favors to beg, or warnings to send, or threats or abuse for him. The last paper included is the original text of his message to Congress on July 4, 1861, followed by a brief note from a correspondent who called herself merely "Union" and proposed that hundreds of copies of the "noble message" be printed and dropped from a balloon "in Southern camps and all over the South."

The total effect is, somehow, that of an intensely real man, set forth to the life in his precise words, but exhibited in the hall of mirrors which was his time. The mirrors are his correspondents. Some of them were clear, and represent him as he was. Some of the mirrors were rough or irregular or tarnished, and they exhibit him not as he was but as his correspondents imagined or wished or suspected him to be. Here is Lincoln as he was, so far as he could say it. Here is his time in confusion and misunderstanding, in shrewd perception

Christ. God, Man or Myth?

Did Christ Himself write down any record of His life? If so, where are these writings today? Do they exist in any museum or library or sacred shrine? Can you find a trace of them in the vast and mysterious subterranean archives of the Vatican in Rome? The answer is NO! Nowhere has any man been able to discover a single word that Jesus wrote?

Who, then, wrote the Christian Gospels? And when were they written? By some historian after the death of Christ? Or are these Gospels merely myths and legends handed down to us from a civilization that existed long before the time of Christ?

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CARL VAN DOREN

A Hopeful Prognosis

EVERYMAN LOOKS FORWARD.

By Lancelot Law Whyte. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.

READING the papers with a vacationer's idle thoroughness, I soon found myself in deep despair. There was but one conclusion, which apparently everybody except me had already drawn—another war. I was shaken, more even than by the specter of World War III, by the idiocy and senselessness of my personal history, which would continue to make me the helpless witness of collapse and defeat. At this point I read a remarkable article in the July issue of *Horizon* by L. L. Whyte, *Scientific Thought in the Coming Decades*, and, a few days later, Whyte's pamphlet of seventy-eight pages, "Everyman Looks Forward."

Whyte's book was conceived at the moment when one of his friends, surprisingly enough a Mr. G., remarked: "The next war is inevitable within a few years, we should get it over now." Statements like this are made by the thousand today, turning existence into a nightmare. "The shock of this remark went deep," writes Mr. Whyte, "and became a challenge." His response to the challenge produced the most concise, the sanest, the most penetrating analysis of our present situation that I have read, and a stirring prognosis of man's future. The greatest surprise is that this prognosis is constructive and optimistic. The chances are great, of course, that madness will prove to be stronger than reason, but the presence and the voice of reason—at a time when there seems nothing but cynicism and breakdown—come as a great relief.

L. L. Whyte examines two questions with an almost mathematical precision: What kind of world order is possible in twenty years' time? And how can that order be brought with least conflict?

Contemporary man is caught in a trap. By his deliberate effort he has intensified the capacity for destruction at his command but cannot accelerate such

formative processes as a world consensus which might lessen the risk of war. Our present attitudes—militant or pacifist or indifferent—are inadequate. Any rational attitude toward the future must be based on an answer to the problem of aggression. Neither the world's religions nor humanism nor Marxism can provide such an answer in the form needed by contemporary man. Aggression is always the result of frustration and fear. The prevalence of aggression today is the result of the decay of a civilization based on fear.

To escape this trap, man in the coming period must transform a Western civilization based on sectional interests and fear, into a world order based on the progressive elimination of fear. Social order depends on the development of five aspects of social organization—balance, variety, hierarchy, equality, and consensus of conviction. The atomic bomb has destroyed the importance of military establishments, since there is no defense against it. Competition in armaments will no longer dominate world politics. Policy is the decisive factor.

Future critical issues will arise as a result of the lower standard of life in the Soviet Union and the higher standard in the United States in relation to other industrial peoples. This tension will be relaxed only when the United States accepts its role in the human community, and the U. S. S. R. opens its frontiers. The initiative in overcoming fear and aggression in world politics must come mainly from the West. The West must not betray its traditions but must transform them so that they can become components of that universal new order of which the Soviet Union will also become a part.

Europe's unique status as the center of intellectual and material leadership is at an end. The social doctrines of the United States and the Soviet Union represent divergent variants of European ideas, appropriate to their different peoples. World conditions are now converging. A synthesis of doctrine, with the explicit aim of overcoming fear, is possible, without a break with tradition.

I would take exception to Whyte's treatise on a number of minor points. But my disagreement was far outweighed by the delight I took in his

amazing powers of insight and definition. I have given but a stuffy summary of Mr. Whyte's essay. The original is short and condensed enough and should be read word by word.

There is great danger, in view of the immense amount of printed matter and the fact that almost nobody in this country knows Mr. Whyte, that his unpretentious little book will be overlooked and soon forgotten. (I have just found out that he is a strange mixture of investment banker and physicist, and has been partly responsible for the development of jet-propelled airplanes. From 1941 to 1945 he was director of Statistical Inquiries in the British Ministry of Supply.) I wish everyone whose opinion bears weight would study every sentence of this social contract for a Second Renaissance. I wish everybody's children might study and discuss this vision of their future. I wish this book might be recognized and used for what it is, a powerful incentive to new hope and new knowledge, for the greater health and the better fate of a better kind of man.

MARTIN GUMPERT

The Utopia of Gallantry

THE COURT WITS OF THE RESTO-

RATION. By John Harold Wilson.

Princeton University Press. \$4.

THERE are few things better than brimstone for preserving a reputation. Not many of the "court wits" would be remembered today if they had not been supposed to be extraordinarily wicked, but there is a secure place in the hearts of the public for any man—especially any man of fashion—who is reputed to have lived even higher than high-livers usually do. On closer scrutiny it generally appears that not much variety or originality is possible in this line, and one ends by realizing with a sigh that the second fifty women cannot have been very different from the first. But at least these heroes proved what most of us only suspect, and they have their reward in our continued interest.

With the exception of Wycherley, who was only incidentally a member of the group, and with the further possible exception of Lord Rochester, none of these men were of really conspicuous ability even as a wit in the narrowest sense of the term. At best they were only

wittier than most men of fashion and more fashionable than most men of wit. It may be, as the author of the present work tentatively suggests, that they were not even much more debauched than the general run of fashionable people in Charles II's London, and that several of them had government careers as nearly honest as any except a very, very few in their time. Nevertheless, Sedley, Buckingham, Dorset, and the rest were the most notorious figures of a notorious age, and they will probably remain the best symbols of one kind of living.

There are good books on one or two of the individual figures, but I think this is the first attempt to treat the group—to define its limits, explain its origins, describe its traditions, and illustrate its manners. Anyone who has ever had occasion to try to learn more about any of the individuals than what is repeated from book to book knows how promptly the clues fail and how little there is beyond a few official records on the one hand and a few endlessly repeated—and dubious—anecdotes on the other. Mr. Wilson has obviously dug long and hard, and he has, among other things, succeeded here and there in throwing some new light on old scandals. His book is for scholars, not for the old-fashioned amateurs of "court memoirs," but it achieves its purpose admirably. Probably no more realistic or more detailed picture has ever been drawn of the society which sat for the idealized portrait presented in Congreve's comedies. Charles Lamb, as everyone knows, called that portrait a "Utopia of gallantry." The original was not "utopian" in any sense of the term, and it was "gallant" only if that word be taken as a euphemism for what the wits themselves frankly called "wenching."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Young Welsh Poet, Maybe

SELECTED POEMS. By Vernon Watkins. New Directions. \$3.

VERNON WATKINS is a young Welsh poet, and that is part of the trouble with his "Selected Poems." There is apt to be in the young Celt, especially when he is a little over-conscious of himself as such (the real Ur-Welsh, I believe it has been claimed,

were not Celtic at all, but never mind), more than a trace of an *überspannt* quality that is hardly distinguishable from the Teutonic. The Welsh, however, usually, have more interested ears; and that this is so Mr. Watkins gives evidence in his use of the spondee in his poem *Thames Forest*, written in sapphics, or in the slant rhymes of Yeats's *Tower*. In general, the shorter lyrics in this book are the more interesting; Mr. Watkins takes after William Butler Yeats a good deal, and no better practice could be recommended, but he has not yet quite learned how to bring off effects of original terseness. The trouble with the long poems is that they contain too many words: The *Ballad of the Mari Lwyd*, for instance, creates an atmosphere successfully; there is much to be said, in this kind of poem, for the use of a refrain, but when the lines "Midnight. Midnight. Midnight. Midnight./Hark at the hands of the clock" are used nearly forty times in seventeen pages, one begins to wonder

whether the repetition is always incremental. From verbiage to verbalizing is a dangerously short cry, and adjectives and adverbs can sometimes do a poem to death. For example, a passage from a poem called *Griefs of the Sea*:

In spite of that wicked sound
Of the wind that follows us like a scent-
ing hound,

It is fitting on the curved cliff to remem-
ber the drowned,

To imagine them clearly for whom the
sea no longer cares,

To deny the language of the thistle, to
meet their foot-firm tread

Across the dark-sown tares

Who were skilful and erect, magnificent
types of godhead,

To resist the dogging wind, to accuse the
sea-god;

Yet in that gesture of anger we must
admit

We were quarreling with a phantom
unawares.

Eighty-eight words. I don't suppose it
can be cut in half, but let's see how
close we can come:

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—EDUARD G. LINDEMAN, *Columbia University*

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In spite of that sound,
Of wind that follows us, a scenting
hound,
On the cliff remember the drowned,
For whom the sea no longer cares,
Deny the language of the thistle, meet
their tread
Across the tares
Resist the wind, accuse the sea-god;
Yet in that anger admit
We were quarreling with a phantom
unawares.

(I don't think much of that *unawares*,
either, but let him have it for the
rhyme's sake.)

Does it mean less now? doesn't it
mean much more, really? We rest.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Challenge to the Christian Conscience

**THE CASE OF THE NAZARENE
REOPENED.** By Hyman E. Goldin.
The Exposition Press. \$5.

THE historicity of the Gospel account of the trial of Jesus of Nazareth has often been challenged by both Gentile and Jew. Goldin's study ranks high among the more objective presentations of the case. The volume is of huge dimensions, 863 pages, with about 80 per cent devoted to the court scene. First the traditional writers of the Gospels are placed in the witness box and subjected to direct and cross examination; then, expert testimony of six kinds, from Jewish history, religion, jurisprudence, exegesis, and language and from Roman law is offered in behalf of the defense; finally, there are summations by defense

and prosecution with a brief charge by the judge, the listening world, to the jury, the conscience of Christendom, which it is hoped will return a just verdict.

The purpose of the book is to challenge the contemporary Christian conscience to do something about the Christian-Jewish tragedy by confessing and proclaiming the innocence of the Jewish people, of the time of Jesus and certainly of today, on the charge of being instruments of the crucifixion of the Nazarene; by revising the chapters in the four Gospels dealing with the trial of Jesus; by ceasing to teach Christian youth the untrue aspects in the Gospel narrative; and by discontinuing the dramatic pre-Easter expansions of the events preceding Calvary.

The strength of the study lies in its acute arraignment of the discrepancies in the Gospels' account of the trial: the divine preordination of the necessity of the death of Jesus over against the accusations of Jewish guilt; the fulfillment of the Old Testament "predictions concerning Jesus" when originally they were not at all concerned with the Nazarene; the constant resort to "divine inspiration" by Christianity when it cannot explain its contradictory faith; the vindication of Judas and so on. Non-Christians of the Eastern Hemisphere will read this narrative with wonderment; fair-minded Christians will again make an act of contrition for Christendom's injustice to Judaism, "Bible-believing Christians" will again repudiate its conclusions, and historical critics will examine the vast array of data for

possible additions to knowledge. But the historic creeds of Christendom will not be altered, and there's the rub.

Goldin's case would have been greatly strengthened had it included many more of the results of the recent critical investigation of the text and contents of the Gospels. For example, where the King James version of John 19:13 reads, "Pilate brought Jesus out and sat on the judgment seat," the critical version reads, "and seated him [Jesus] on the tribunal." Here textual criticism alters the entire situation and describes Pilate as a joker! Again, with reference to Isaiah 53, the predictive value has been completely undermined by the observation that its tenses are not future, but past! The newer "form" criticism has reconstructed the earliest story of the cross in such a way as to remove many of the terrible indictments of the later stories now found in the Gospels. The issue of whether Judaism could employ the capital penalty in the days of Pilate has now been rather definitely settled by Jean Juster and Hans Lietzmann, thus unloading the crucifixion upon the Romans, since stoning was the Jewish method of execution. And today's historical verdict is that Jesus was crucified by the Romans as a "political messianic agitator."

The focus of Goldin's analysis is Matthew 27:25 as the principal anti-Semitic Gospel text, but John 19:15; Acts 2:23, 3:15, 5:28; James 5:6, and Revelation 11:8 are also in this category. They must all be refuted before "Bible-believing Christians" will repent. And they must be refuted by Christian scholars. But historical criticism has so completely set aside Matthew 27:25 and John 19:15 that the general public should know about it. (Those interested may consult my "Christian-Jewish Tragedy," especially Chapters XIII and XIV, and "Protestantism's Challenge," Chapters VII to IX.)

We agree. An apology to Judaism on the part of Christianity has long been overdue. The brutal and outrageous persecution of the Jew by the Christian is a matter of historical record. The fiction of Ober Ammergau should not be perpetuated in Christian drama of the Lenten season. May Goldin's volume contribute to the healing of the Christian-Jewish wound.

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It Is God Who Exaggerates

DREADFUL CALIFORNIA. By Hinton Helper. Edited by Lucius Beebe and Charles M. Clegg. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.50.

THERE have always been two points of view to take about California: either you believe what you see or you don't. A popular California saying, source unknown, puts it this way: "We cultivate and irrigate; it is God who exaggerates." Hinton Helper, who wrote a famous pre-Civil War book on the impending crisis in the South, spent three years in California during the gold rush and later published his impressions in a volume entitled "The Land of Gold," portions of which have been reprinted in this volume. Helper did not believe what he saw in California; in fact, he was the first of a long line of skeptics and critics. He complained, for example, that "there is nothing as it should be" in California. Who can deny it? In 1848 California was, he said, "already a pandemonium"; how therefore could it ever become "an elysium"?

The state is still a pandemonium, and the question that puzzled Helper still puzzles many people, including *The Nation's* California correspondent. "The further people live from California," wrote Helper, "the more credulous they are of golden legends." True again; witness the latest census report on migration. From all of this, and more of the same, Helper logically concluded that California was a hoax, a fake, a preposterous imposition. Although California is now celebrating the centennial of the discovery of gold (with still another centennial next year, the adoption of the first state constitution, and a third scheduled for 1950, admission to the Union), it is still too early to say that Helper erred. The gold rush is still on; the golden legends are as alive today as they were a hundred years ago; and nothing is yet quite what it should be in California. With Helper one can still doubt that such a state exists; it is probably all a hoax, a fraud. The trouble is, of course, that one can't quite be sure.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"Intruder in the Dust"

By William Faulkner

Reviewed by Paolo Milano

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

SUMMER AND SMOKE," the new play by Tennessee Williams at the Music Box Theater, is already the subject of the most violently conflicting judgments. At the second performance an overflowing audience disregarded the predominantly unfavorable press to give it an enthusiastic reception, and it is with that audience that I find myself agreeing.

The play is said to have been written before "A Street Car Named Desire." What is more important, the characters and the central situations obviously resemble one another. Indeed, it seems likely enough that the two heroines were suggested by the same observed original. But the whole method and effect of the two plays is so different that if they did actually have a common origin, then the fact merely demonstrates the impressiveness of Mr. Williams's gifts. Only a powerful imagination could have used so profitably the same thing twice.

Here, as in the previous play, the heroine is an unhappy woman, passionate by nature but loyal in her conscious mind to the ideals of an anemic gentility. Here again, however, the moral complexity of the situation arises out of the fact that the author's deepest sympathy lies, not with the "vital" characters who triumph, but with the ineffectual idealist who is destroyed. This is no mere object lesson on the dangers of "suppression," no mere plea for the "healthy animality" ambiguously embodied in the Polish husband of "A Street Car" and less ambiguously in the robustious doctor of the present play. In both cases the tragedy lies, not in the fact that the heroine resists, but in the fact that she has so little to resist with. "Gentility" is the only form of idealism or spirituality accessible to her; perhaps, Mr. Williams seems to be saying, the only form now accessible to anyone, and our culture is ugly just because we have no living equivalent for what is by now a mere quaint anachronism. If I read him aright, he is not so much ridiculing his Southern "ladies" and Southern "gentlemen" as he is reproaching the rest of the world for hav-

ing found no equivalent of what their ladyhood and their gentlemanliness once represented.

Inevitably but unfortunately the question which of the two plays is the better will everywhere be asked. The only proper answer is that they are more different in style than any description of the stories is likely to suggest. Undoubtedly "A Street Car" is more varied and rapid in action. In the conventional sense of the term it is more dramatic—which may mean chiefly more melodramatic or, at least, more theatrical. On internal evidence alone it would probably have been possible to know that the first of the two plays to be produced represented the later reworking of the material, since both the characters and the local habitation of the fable are less generalized, more sharply defined so far as purely individual traits are concerned. "Summer and Smoke" has less of that deceptive air of naturalism which to some extent conceals the fundamentally subjective nature of both plays. It seems more like the fable or allegory which, to a considerable extent, it is. Nothing in "A

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Street Car" is so plainly symbolical as the contrasting, here, of the anatomical chart in the doctor's office with the sculptured angel over the drinking fountain in the village square. To some extent, also, the characters themselves, in keeping with the allegorical suggestion of action, are a bit more suggestive of the protagonists in some old morality play. But the differences in style and tone are by no means merely the differences between the superior and the inferior. The symbol can be larger than the fact. "Summer and Smoke" often achieves a hypnotic, dreamlike effect as impressive and as absorbing in its own way as the more sharply defined particularity of "Street Car." Moreover, its elegiac rather than dramatic tone is relieved from time to time by the presentation of acid little portraits, like that of the malicious gossip, which are as unforgettable as anything in the other play.

It will be said that Mr. Williams has been in luck, to get again a superlatively fine production, brilliantly directed—this time by Margo Jones—and brilliantly acted. Jo Mielziner's single, semi-representational set, dominated by a vast star-studded sky, is not only one of the most beautiful but also one of the most usable multiple arrangements I have ever seen. Margaret Phillips, previously known on Broadway chiefly as the half-insane aristocrat in "Another Part of the Forest," gives a performance as the heroine at least as imaginative and as unforgettable as that of Jessica Tandy in "A Street Car." Indeed, one wonders whether luck which has held through three successive productions isn't, perhaps, something more than that, and whether Mr. Williams's plays do not possess a precious power to call forth the best in those who undertake to put them on. Certainly the effect of "Summer and Smoke" is to confirm the impression that he is a playwright whose success is due to something a good deal more significant than a succession of Hukes.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

AMONG the wonders of orchestral performance of the period of the last twenty-five years now drawing to its close has been the Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony—miraculous as mere sound in its radiance, refinement, and lightness. It was especially beautiful in Carnegie Hall, whose acoustic qualities softened to shimmering radiance the orchestra's brilliance in reverberant Symphony Hall. And RCA Victor gives us not only a new recording of the performance but one made in Carnegie Hall, superb in its spaciousness, clarity, and sensuous beauty (DM-1241, \$3.50). Bass has to be reduced; surfaces are not quiet.

Victor also has issued a recording of the Prelude and Finale of Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde" made by Rodzinski and the Chicago Symphony (\$5 for vinylite DV-24, \$3.50 for shellac DM-1230), which I have compared with the pre-war Victor recording by Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic. Even with its inferior woodwinds the Berlin orchestra is the finer in discipline, sensitiveness, sonority, and finish; with it Furtwängler produces a relaxed flow which rises easily to the climaxes; and the performance is reproduced with beautiful clarity and refinement of rich sound. The Rodzinski performance is the reverse of all this—tense, hectic, overblown, coarse.

Then there is Brahms's Sonata in D minor for violin and piano, recorded by Mischa Elman and Wolfgang Rosé (DM-1232, \$4.75). It is impossible for Elman to produce a long, sustained phrase; instead he saws away with much swelling and contracting of tone and changing of pace—the virtuoso playing Brahms as he would Wieniawski.

Sustained phrasing is to be heard on a single disc (10-1448, \$1) in Lotte Lehmann's beautiful singing of Schubert's "An die Musik"; and on the reverse side is a dramatically effective performance of his "Erlkönig" with the "war tot" vehemently whispered instead of sung. On another single (12-0428, \$1.25) Horowitz gives brilliant performances of Prokofiev's Toccata Opus

10 and Poulenc's Presto, together with an acceptable performance of Debussy's "Serenade for the Doll." And on still another (12-0427, \$1.25) are a characteristically mannered performance of Chopin's Mazurka Opus 7 No. 3, and the famous performance of Horowitz's own Variations on Themes from "Carmen"—one of those *trous de force* which elicited from Virgil Thomson the complete Horowitz criticism in one sentence: "When a man can play hard music like that so satisfyingly, one regrets that he should spend so much of the evening worrying standard repertory."

The only imported records I get for review are London Deccas; but I have had an opportunity to hear the H. M. V. Kreisler-Rupp recording of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 96, and to discover that Kreisler's playing, even ten years ago, had the coarseness of tone, crudeness of style, and occasionally the faulty intonation that I have heard more recently in his Telephone Hour broadcasts—in short, that he had already lost the silken tone, the suavity and grace that are to be heard in the marvelous Kreisler-Rachmaninov performances of Beethoven and Schubert sonatas, which are still to be had on H. M. V. records, and which you should not allow noisy surfaces to keep you from acquiring. To get back to Opus 96—even with Rupp's beautiful playing the H. M. V. performance is one that I advise against, particularly since there is the Parlophone recording of the superlative Goldberg-Kraus performance to be had.

Last summer I heard the Parlophone volume of Mozart's Sonatas K. 296, 379, and 481 played by Goldberg and Kraus, and can report that they too are among the most beautiful things to be had on records—the performances being beyond comparison with the Schneider-Kirkpatrick versions.

And recently Goldberg, in recital at Carnegie Hall, played Handel's Sonata in D and Bach's Partita in D minor, with the great Chaconne, and revealed the same easy mastery of his instrument and beautiful musicality that one hears on the records—the musicality which, on those records, operates for both Goldberg and Kraus, as one discovers when one listens to Kraus by herself, for example, in the musically sloppy performance of Schubert's Sonata Opus 143.

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Letters to the Editors

A Loyal Supporter

Dear Sirs: I am in hearty sympathy with you in your fight [against censorship in the New York schools], but as I am ninety-eight years of age, next month, I don't think it wise to take on any more magazines by regular subscription. I have, however, made arrangements with a periodical dealer in Cambridge, near my bank, to keep me supplied with every issue of your magazine.

C. W. THIERY

Belmont, Mass., October 8

What Are the Facts, Mr. Baldwin?

Dear Sirs: An editorial in the October 2 issue of *The Nation* not only grossly distorts the Progressive Party position in the Congressional races but, equally serious, harms the fight for a liberal Congress by perpetuating the myth that every Democratic candidate is necessarily a liberal and worthy of support. *The Nation* cites five Democratic candidates and one Republican as "liberals" opposed by the Progressive Party and speaks of "all the other liberals who have been marked for sacrifice." Let's look at the facts.

One of the Congressmen named, Representative Lesinski of Michigan, is *not* being opposed by the Progressive Party in the November race. A careful examination of the record of the other six candidates can hardly lead to any evaluation of them as "liberal" by a publication which claims to reflect a liberal viewpoint.

Representative Multer of New York was the only Brooklyn Congressman to vote for the draft; he voted for contempt citations for the Hollywood ten; on Palestine he has closely identified himself with the State Department position (see the *Congressional Record*, March 24, 1948, p. 3489). In any case, Multer is also the Republican candidate in a coalition against the Progressive nominee, Lee Pressman, former general counsel of the C. I. O. The people of the district thus have a clear choice. In the case of Representative Javits, Republican incumbent in New York's Twenty-first District, *The Nation* fails to point out that the Progressives have not named a candidate of their own but rather have indorsed

the liberal Democratic nominee, Paul O'Dwyer, again to give the people a better choice. Javits's record, liberal in spots, none the less shows a typical favor-the-rich slant: he supported the Knutson tax bill, which cut income taxes for the wealthy, and the notorious Reed-Bulwinkle bill, which exempted the railroads from anti-trust laws; he voted wrong on reciprocal-trade extension, the Rayburn amendment to the profits tax, and REA power loans; and he voted for the draft.

In Washington state, where Representative Jackson is running for reelection, the Progressive Party has named an opponent in protest against Jackson's record of support for Truman's bill to draft railroad strikers, the Truman Doctrine, his opposition to the civil-liberties amendment to the draft bill, his vote for that bill and for the contempt citations of the Hollywood ten. Liberal? Hugh Mitchell has become in the past few years a typical Tweedledee-Tweedledum candidate.

Representative Garmatz in Maryland, who scores only 50 per cent on the *New Republic* voting chart, has a long list of reactionary votes, including support for the Mundt-Nixon bill and the anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic displaced-persons bill.

So much for the "liberals" opposed by the Progressive Party. As for "all the others," the facts show that we are supporting forty-one of the forty-eight Congressional candidates who placed 75 per cent or better on the C. I. O. voting chart.

C. B. BALDWIN

Secretary and Campaign Manager,
Progressive Party
New York, October 11

[Devoting nearly his entire letter to the last four lines of our editorial, Mr. Baldwin has apparently thought it best not to substantiate his charge that we have "grossly distorted" his party's position. The passage to which he confines himself merely listed six Congressional candidates against whom we urged the Progressive Party to withdraw its own nominees in keeping with its new policy. As for his comments on these six, our information is as follows:

1. *Multer*. While we have reservations concerning the necessity and desirability of the draft, we do not re-

gard it as a measure of a Congressman's liberalism. If we did, we should have to damn such excellent Senators as Kilgore, Murray, and Pepper—all highly rated, we believe, by Mr. Baldwin—while applauding the "liberalism" of Senators Bricker, Brooks, Butler, and Wherry. Similarly, many of the best Congressmen in the House voted to cite the Hollywood ten for contempt, not because they supported the Un-American Affairs Committee, but simply because they were confronted with a highly technical question, so regarded even by the American Civil Liberties Union, which they wanted decided once and for all by the courts. As a Zionist of long standing, Multer most certainly has not "identified himself with the State Department" on the question of Palestine. On the contrary, he has fought for *de jure* recognition, the loan, and the lifting of the embargo, while opposing both the Bernadotte plan and the Bevin plan before it. On the *New Republic* voting chart, which Mr. Baldwin rightly cites as a reliable criterion, Multer was one of only thirty Congressmen to achieve a perfect score.

2. *Javits*. Mr. Baldwin is, of course, correct in pointing out that the Progressives have not named a candidate of their own in this race but have indorsed the Democratic nominee. While Javits did vote for the Knutson tax bill, Mr. Baldwin's remaining charges are misleading and inaccurate. Javits not only favored a three-year extension of the reciprocal-trade agreements but fought hard for it. When the three-year proposal was rejected, he voted for the one-year extension only in preference to letting the program die altogether. He did vote for the Bulwinkle bill, but he also voted to uphold the President's veto of that measure. The Rayburn amendment was part of the Knutson tax-bill affair and should not be held against him twice. He did vote against the REA power loans for the admittedly foolish reason that he would not support a Rankin measure. His record is two wrong votes out of fourteen on the *New Republic* chart.

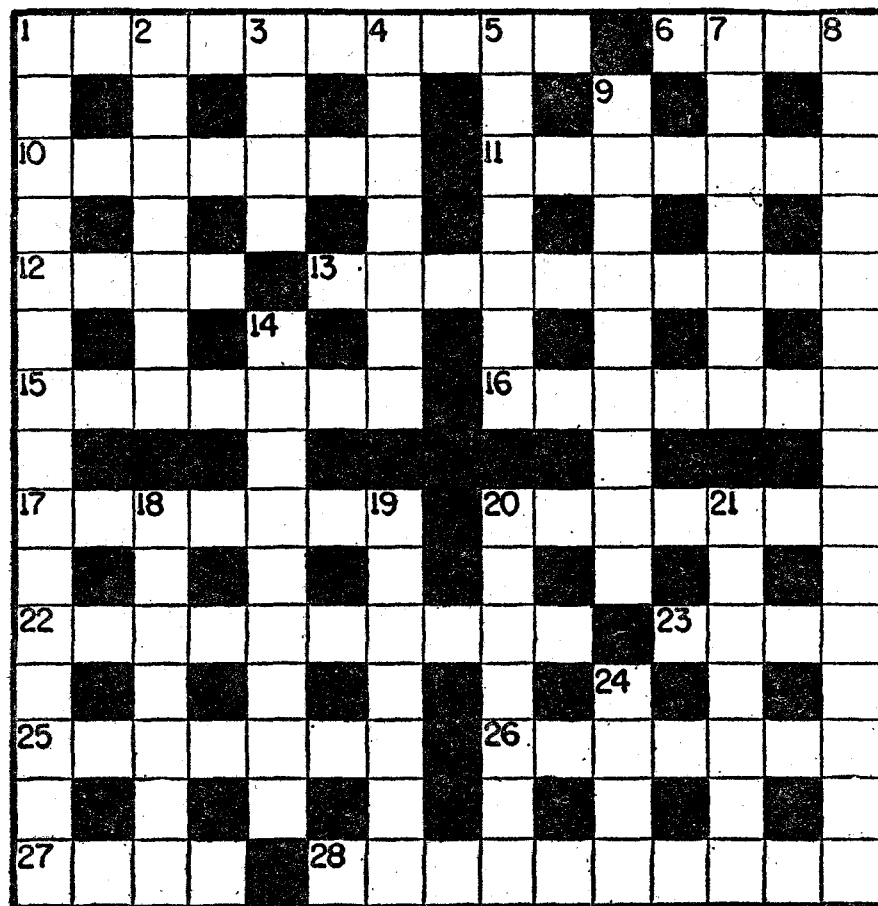
3. *Jackson*. It seems to us particularly irresponsible to pillory this exceedingly good Representative on the basis of his vote in the contempt cases in view of his long and vocal opposition to the Thomas committee. He was one of only

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East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

Crossword Puzzle No. 284

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 I send an old bunch of flowers made out of these (10)
- 6 Sometimes the teeth are engaged when one does it. (4)
- 10 Tenders fighting-hideouts? (7)
- 11 Spengler wrote of its decline. (3, 4)
- 12 How to beat the game, in a way. (4)
- 13 Makes poor claret, but better brew. (10)
- 15 Echo. (7)
- 16 It's sort of rash to use a spade around it. (7)
- 17 Listed on the same price-card as 21. (7)
- 20 Fish from Paris for a mathematician and his type of distribution? (7)
- 22 Not exactly a fine deposit, but amounts to that. (10)
- 23 Shuffle for a game of chance. (4)
- 25 Good, and sometimes even sort of grand. (7)
- 26 Little Albert would make a proposal out of this. (7)
- 27 Does a neat bookkeeper make such a sum? (4)
- 28 Heresy. (10)

DOWN

- 1 A comforter for the nobleman? (4, 3, 3, 5)

- 2 A souvenir is broken when I leave it on edge. (7)
- 3 Paradise for an Englishman. (4)
- 4 It ends a sort of alternative. (7)
- 5 How hot drinks are served and observed. (7)
- 7 Perhaps a prince in old Germany, but just an ordinary citizen here. (7)
- 8 Dissimilarly, when it involves the legs, you're one. (15)
- 9 A sort of article is veritable. (9)
- 14 Overload (or overprint). (8)
- 18 Briefly stated, is it midwestern-raised? (7) (hyphenated)
- 19 Framework of letters. (7)
- 20 Where to get at in place of this. (7)
- 21 Here's the head cleaner. (7)
- 24 It takes at least three to make a riot, or vice versa. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 283

ACROSS:—1 REFORMATORY; 9 SAND; 10 STRAW; 11 BATS; 12 STUNTED; 13 HAND-SAW; 15 ANDERSON; 16 HELLAS; 18 OFFSET; 21 NEPOTISM; 26 BREADED; 28 THOU; 29 EDITH; 30 GAPE; 31 SHUTTLECOCK.

DOWN:—2 ENDANGERS; 4 MARS; 5 TOW-PATH; 6 RABID; 7 CARTON; 8 STRATA; 14 ANENT; 17 LETHARGIC; 19 and 3 FLIGHT OF STEPS; 20 TORRENT; 22 and 24 PYRRHIC VICTORY; 23 SLEEPY; 25 TOUCH; 27 MILL.

forty Congressmen with courage enough to vote against appropriating funds for that agency. It is true he was not among the thirteen Representatives who voted against the emergency strike-control bill, a measure technically incapable of amendment and rushed through in a moment of hysteria, but apart from this, Jackson's record has been unimpeachable by any liberal standard. The *New Republic's* chart shows him with thirteen liberal votes out of fourteen.

4. *Garmatz*. While this candidate's complete record is not nearly so black as Mr. Baldwin indicates, the balance is against him. We concede the point.

5. *Mitchell*. Mr. Baldwin is understandably vague about the former Senator's record. For information on this "Tweedledum-Tweedledee" candidate, we refer our readers to Richard Neuberger's article, *Slow-Bell Campaign* in the Northwest, in *The Nation* of October 16. Mitchell's opponent, whom the Progressives are indirectly helping to elect, voted wrong on ten of the *New Republic's* fourteen test questions.

As for Lesinski, we are glad that he is not opposed by the Progressives, though Mr. Baldwin fails to point out that they did, in fact, oppose him in the primary.—EDITORS THE NATION]

Not a One-Man Fight

Dear Sirs: In reporting the action of the Massachusetts State Board of Education in restoring the subscription of *The Nation* to teachers' colleges, you have credited me with "fighting single-handed" for the preservation of freedom of speech threatened by the banning of *The Nation* from Massachusetts teachers' colleges a few months ago. I really do not at all deserve such credit, but rather the board collectively deserves a great deal of credit for its zeal to protect the four freedoms of our democratic way of life.

I, personally, am always opposed to any censorship or banning of free discussion of controversial subjects in our society, and when *The Nation* magazine was banned from Massachusetts teachers'-college libraries, I wrote to every member of the board stating my unequivocal opposition to such action. But in such opposition I was not alone. In fact, every member thought the same way I did when they met to consider the question. Furthermore, a Catholic member of the board asked for the privilege to be the first one to discuss the matter and express his criticism of the action taken by the Department of Education. The

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vote of the board, disapproving the suspension of this magazine and restoring its subscription to teachers' colleges, was unanimous.

G. JOHN GREGORY

Boston, October 15

Rotten Boroughs in New York

Dear Sirs: I was most interested in Carey McWilliams's article, Rotten Boroughs in the United States, in your issue of September 25. "Rotten-borough" representation is not confined to California and the few states he mentions, however. We have it in New York. The Assembly—the lower house of the legislature—consists of 150 members. Greater New York, with approximately 60 per cent of the population of the state, elects only 67 assemblymen, while "up state" elects 83.

This system derives from the state constitution, which provides that every county—with the exception of two counties that elect a common assemblyman—is entitled to at least one member in the Assembly. The population of each of the Assembly districts of Greater New York is around 110,000. Few if any of the rural counties approach that figure. Putnam County, for example, has a population of about 20,000.

HENRY WALDMAN

New York, October 10

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